

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,082 March 22, 1957 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

400 Japanese Scientists send H-test appeal to Britain as MPs say

## KEEP UP THE PRESSURE

**"KEEP up the pressure."** These four words of encouragement by an MP in the Lobby of the House of Commons summed up the sympathetic attitude of a number of MPs towards protests against the British plans to explode Hydrogen bombs.

The protests were made by pacifists, Quakers, members of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and others who went to the House last Monday to lobby their MPs.

The lobbying, arranged by the recently formed National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, coincided with an address to Labour MPs on radiation hazards by Professors Haddow and Penrose, and the handing to the Prime Minister of a letter signed by 14 MPs urging him to discuss the ending of tests when meeting President Eisenhower in Bermuda.

Robert Davis, Chairman of the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers), spent nearly 40 minutes with Mr. Harold Gurden, MP (Con., Selly Oak, Birmingham, and one of the few members of his party opposed to hanging).

"All these tests are for one particular purpose: war making," Robert Davis stated.

Mr. Gurden, appreciating but unable to agree with the pacifist viewpoint, said that only when the scientists were agreed that there was serious danger from the tests would he oppose them.

About ten other MPs came out to meet their

constituents, some 20 or 30 others were not available.

The Council for the Abolition of Tests has issued a four-page leaflet (1s. 6d. a doz., 8s. 6d. a 100, from 29 Great James St., W.C.1)

✠ ON BACK PAGE

WORK CAMPS FOR PEACE —see pages 4 and 5



- March on Sunday
- Rally on Tuesday
- Learn more Thursday

## NIEMOLLER IN LONDON NEXT WEEK

**SUNDAY** sees the opening of a week of intensive peace activity in London.

From his Church in Kingsway on Sunday evening Dr. Donald Soper will lead a march through the West End of London urging an end to violence in international affairs and calling on Britain to give a moral lead to the world by scrapping her armed forces.

Leaflets will invite the public to the mass meeting in Friends House, Euston, on Tuesday, announced at the foot of this page, at which the German ex-U-boat commander Dr. Martin Niemoller will speak with British pacifists. (The picture left shows the scene when Dr. Niemoller spoke at a Church rally in Germany last August.)

All reserved seats for this meeting have been sold. An overflow meeting has been arranged in the same building and this will be addressed by all the speakers.

Thursday evening will see the first monthly London Peace Forum at which leaders of the British pacifist movement will be available to answer questions arising from current affairs.

### Peace Forum

This new venture, in common with the whole week's programme, is an initiative of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee, a body which represents all the British pacifist organisations and the Society of Friends Peace Committee (Quakers).

It is expected that the first meeting will deal largely with questions arising from Tuesday's rally. At future meetings of the Forum it is hoped that the platform of representatives of the pacifist organisations will, from time to time, include overseas visitors whom British peace workers will want to hear.

"The Forum is intended primarily as an opportunity for pacifists to introduce their non-pacifist friends to the movement," a member of the Committee told Peace News on Tuesday.

A venue for the future meetings will be announced shortly.





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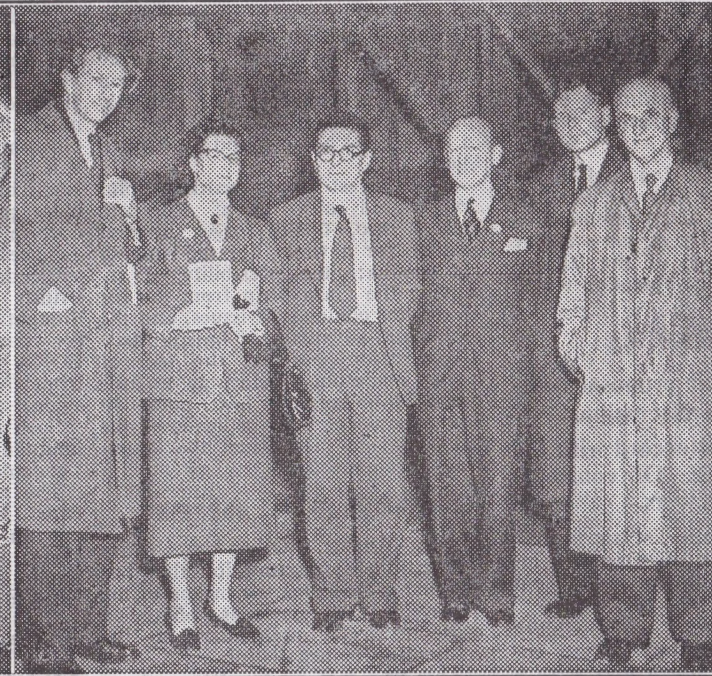
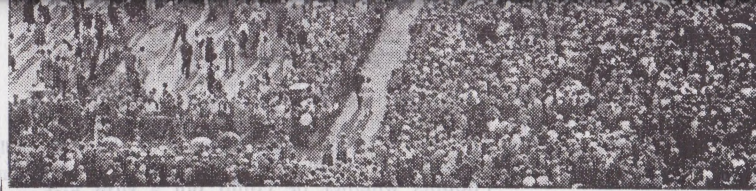
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**Hugh Brock** (Editor, *Peace News*), **Mrs. N. McGregor** (Publicity Officer to the Council), **Ernest Fernyhough**, MP (Lab., Jarrow), **Arthur Goss**, **Rex Phillips** (Clerk to the London and Middlesex Friends Peace Committee) and **Robert Davis** (Chairman of the Friends Peace Committee).

Several hundred University students marched silently through London last week in protest at the South African "treason trials" and the policy of apartheid. A petition to South Africa House was circulated, condemning these practices and particularly calling attention to the evils of segregation in universities.

**Twenty-four boys** and girls were present at a meeting in Christchurch, New Zealand recently, called to provide an opportunity of study and fellowship for boys from post-primary schools who were refusing cadet service (a number of sisters came along too, they wanted to join in).

## At a glance . . .

**A** MAN who became a conscientious objector on religious grounds whilst serving with the American Air Force has been sentenced to five-and-a-half years hard labour and discharged from the services with ignominy for refusing to obey orders.

He is Orval Cupp of Dayton, Virginia.

The New York Post in an editorial on the case has stated that the real question is whether the military should impose any penalty at all on cases of this kind. "The Selective Service boards recognise the rights of conscientious objection, even in wartime," it says. "Surely it is not beyond the capacity of the Pentagon bureaucracy to devise a system whereby men already in service who undergo religious conversion can state their case. The inner light of belief or dissent may kindle at any time in any man's mind whether he is in or out of uniform."

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## HUNGARY-EGYPT PILGRIMAGE STARTS ON APRIL 7

**KATHLEEN LONSDALE**, Ethel Mannin and Spike Milligan have agreed to be sponsors of the Hungary-Egypt Pilgrimage which sets off from Deansgate, Manchester, at 3 p.m. on Sunday, April 7.

"We expect to reach London three weeks later," the organising secretary, Mr. W. Taylor, told *Peace News* last week.

"From there we shall go to Ostend via Dover and hope to begin the continental walk on May 8.

"During the week-end, March 30-31, Mr. Philip Toynbee and four of our members will parade in the streets of Manchester carrying a sandwich-board advertising our activities."

Offers of help may be sent to the Association at 37 Charlwood St., London, S.W.1.

## Death of John Middleton Murry

**JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY**, war-time editor of *Peace News* (1940-1946) died on March 12 in Bury St. Edmunds Hospital after a severe heart attack on March 5.

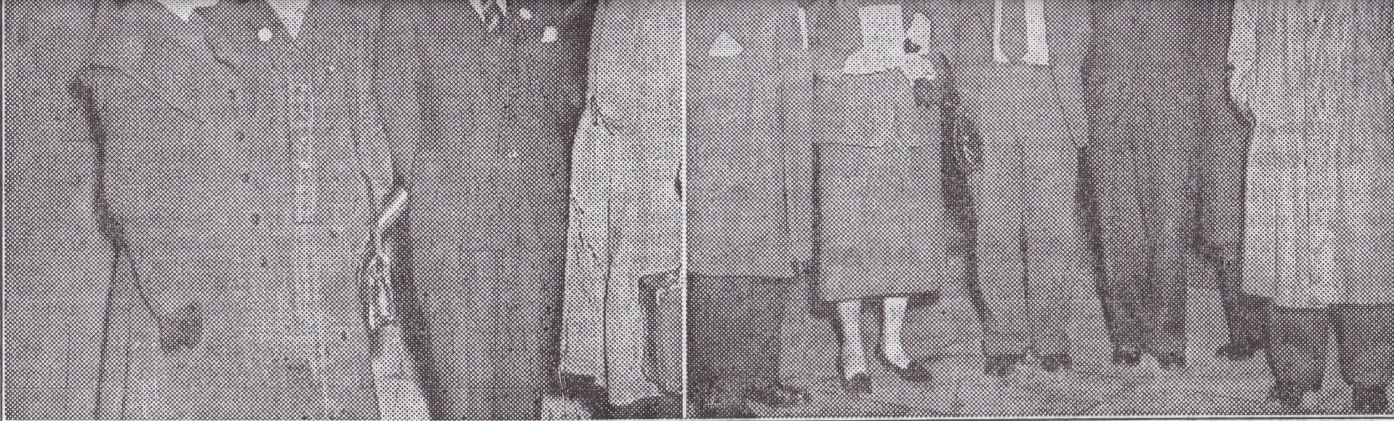
He was buried at Theltham on Saturday. [See also page eight]

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**Marvin J. Kein**, 24-year-old member of the Amish faith from near Wooster, Ohio, was sentenced to one year imprisonment by Federal District Court Judge James C. Connell, in Cleveland, Ohio, USA. Kein refused to accept civilian work as ordered by his draft board, reports *News Notes*.

"War must go if mankind is to stay" is a recent poster published by the Society of Friends Peace Committee.





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## The failure of violence—the challenge of pacifism

Leslie

Marjorie

Kathleen

Martin

Donald

**HALE**

**LEWIS**

**LONSDALE**

**NIEMOLLER**

**SOPER**

Tuesday, March 26 at 7 p.m. in FRIENDS HOUSE, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

and on Thursday, March 28 at 6.45 p.m. in FRIENDS HOUSE, the first monthly PEACE FORUM

Panel: ROBERT DAVIS, SYBIL MORRISON, STUART MORRIS, MAX PARKER, J. ALLEN SKINNER

and other members of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee

EVERY MONTH IN LONDON: AN OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE YOUR SAY ON PEACE

Organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee



March 22th 1957

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# PEACE NEWS

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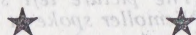
## WEST CHOOSES COLD WAR

**T**HE development of the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation has so far not been possible. This is because the Great Powers have chosen to use co-operation merely as a means to pursuing the cold war.

With the death of Stalin, and particularly after the Khrushchov denunciation of Stalinism it seemed for a time that a movement towards genuine co-operation might become possible. It is true that it was Russia that was giving the greatest evidence of a desire to bring the cold war to an end, but the change in the international climate of opinion that was being created was beginning to have its effect on the Western Powers.

Then came the crime of the Russian suppression of the Hungarian people and the general measures for the rehabilitation of Stalinism in Russia and the Russian satellite states that followed. What has happened since seems to suggest that despite their expressions of sympathy with the Hungarian people the Western Statesmen have really breathed sighs of relief. They now feel able to settle down comfortably again to pursuance of the cold war, untroubled by the need to formulate new policies.

The situation that we are having to face in consequence carries with it greater dangers even than the world faced previously. A cold war that had begun to thaw and has now been resumed is likely to have increased in seriousness; and it is now concentrated on the area of the world which contains the greatest potential dangers: Western Asia (or the Middle East as Europeans insist on calling it).



**U**NTIL the creation of the Bagdad Pact it was the Western Powers that had been pursuing cold war aims with the greatest vigour in this area by seeking to change a neutral aloofness from the cold war struggle into Western partizanship.

The Western Powers had such a monopoly of influence in the area in fact that they had come to look upon themselves as having prescriptive rights here which authorised them to regard as something criminal the very natural attempts made by the Russian bloc in their turn to gain influence in the area.

The French and British having destroyed their influence by the invasion of Egypt, the present year opened with the propounding of a new plan by President Eisenhower of American aid for the Middle East. There was to be American aid and American support against Communism. The US would employ its Armed Forces "to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence" of the Middle Eastern nations against Communism.

Such a pronouncement was obviously a dangerous invitation to Russia to make a similar declaration in which she would offer military aid in the protection of territorial integrity and political independence against capitalism, and the Russian Government at first showed a certain tendency to take this line. What it actually did, however, was to make a clear offer to end the cold war in the Middle East and to substitute a policy of co-operation in the development of the Middle Eastern countries "without political or military conditions."

It is true that the West, which has a much greater foothold in the area, would have to make a military sacrifice to secure this co-operation, for associated with this proposal were suggestions for the liquidation of

**O**N the general principle that the greater the number of people who take sides in a dispute between other parties the greater the risk of a free-for-all fight, it would seem wise to leave the Gaza Strip issue as long as at all possible to the sole care of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, of the United Nations.

He is not merely the only person of authority directly involved who has no racial, political or national axe of any kind to grind; he is also the man with the most detailed knowledge of all the factors influencing the situation.

This said, it may still be useful to call attention to one or two points which violent partisans on either side—the pro-Egyptian and the pro-Israeli—are apt to disregard.

### Egypt's claim Israel's faith

**T**HE first, favouring Egypt, is legal. Although it can be argued in international law that Egypt's claim to control shipping in the Straits of Tiran is ill-founded, there is no doubt that President Nasser is within his rights in claiming the re-establishment of Egyptian Administration in the Gaza Strip. No amount of indignation over fedayeen raids into Israel can alter this. Nor can legally acceptable evidence be furnished that he is at the back of such raids—and the question is not even affected by doubts whether he could put a stop to them.

The second point, favouring Israel, is this. When Premier Ben Gurion agreed to the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Strip, he staked not only his personal position but also the unity of spirit on which the survival chances of his country depend to an enormous extent amidst a hostile Arab world, on the United Nations' ability to ensure the cessation of perpetual acts of warfare against Israel. It was no exaggeration when this was described as probably the greatest act of faith of all time, in the United Nations and the United States.

The greatest help towards a solution would now be if President

that were obviously impossible of acceptance, and so the bloodshed continued.

Instead of recalling this man the British Government endorsed his impossibly unimaginative response to this peace offer, and has since maintained the barrier to peace upon which he has insisted by continuing to require of Archbishop Makarios a denunciation of Cypriot terrorism as a preliminary to his return for the conduct of negotiations.

Although we have always hoped that the Archbishop, as a Christian minister, would disavow violence and urge the achievement of his people's aspirations by other means, we have always been conscious of the fact that Sir John Harding and the British Government would have regarded with considerable disapproval any French Archbishop who, in World War II, had condemned the terrorism of the French resistance as a means of hampering the German occupation.

EOKA has now sought to overcome this barrier by offering to

### Gaza Cyprus Prisons

abandon terrorism should the Archbishop be permitted to return. This offer has been endorsed by the Ethnarchy Council in Cyprus, which has stated its conviction that such a move would help a return to peace.

### "Lucky Dip"

**I**T might be thought that the missed opportunity last August would make the British authorities particularly careful not to run a similar risk this time.

As this note is written, however—and we can only hope that we are misreading the signs as to the Government's intention—it looks as if it is again relying on the characteristic brass-hat assumption; "one more good push, and the devils will

comments of Dartmoor prisoners were both illuminating and amusing.

On Good Friday the BBC Television service will show a film taken in prison—and not in any special prison but in that old and grim establishment, Strangeways, Manchester. A film unit was admitted and despite difficulties of light (there never is much light in prison) and the need to avoid any revelation of identity, a good film has been produced which should make an interesting and revealing programme.

### Reformer Butler?

**A**ND then, suddenly out of the blue, the House of Commons last week chose amongst the supplementary votes for debate, that dealing with prisons.

The opportunity was seized to review prison policy and the new Home Secretary, Mr. Butler, opened the debate. That in itself was a refreshing change for in such situations the Home Secretary usually winds up, with a defensive statement.

Mr. Butler revealed his own astonishment at the absence of real knowledge in his department about the effects of prison treatment, and the small amount spent on research.

The implied criticism of his predecessors and colleagues was allowed to pass.

He promised to make a start with a remand centre so that many of those charged with offences could be housed and examined without having to be remanded to prison for the purpose, which in itself would provide courts with the guidance they sadly lack in assessing sentences. It is only a few weeks since the previous Home Secretary, when pressed to abandon further detention centres and build remand centres instead, said that this was impossible on grounds both of policy and finance.

### New hope

**M**R. BUTLER said sentences seemed to be too long and our prisons were consequently too full, and he said that efforts to find more useful work for prisoners inside and outside prison were being stepped up.





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Such a pronouncement was obviously a dangerous invitation to Russia to make a similar declaration in which she would offer military aid in the protection of territorial integrity and political independence against capitalism, and the Russian Government at first showed a certain tendency to take this line. What it actually did, however, was to make a clear offer to end the cold war in the Middle East and to substitute a policy of co-operation in the development of the Middle Eastern countries "without political or military conditions."

It is true that the West, which has a much greater foothold in the area, would have to make a military sacrifice to secure this co-operation, for associated with this proposal were suggestions for the liquidation of foreign bases and the mutual renunciation of the supply of arms to the Middle Eastern countries. It would thus mean the end of the Bagdad Pact; but the prize of a real beginning in international co-operation would more than repay this sacrifice.

★ ★  
**THE** Western Powers have preferred to reject this proposal without even examining its implications in joint discussion.

They say that present Russian policy does not accord with the aims that the proposals are designed to further. Of course it doesn't. Neither does the policy of the Western Powers.

The policy on both sides is cold war in furtherance of the power struggle. The Russian Government proposal, however, if genuinely intended, would be a beginning in the substitution of co-operation for cold war.

It is evident that what the Western Government fear is the possibility that the proposal may be genuinely intended. They prefer cold war co-operation. They are assuming a terrible responsibility which may have a tragic outcome.

## S. Africa : Apartheid for universities

**THE** South African Government has at last given details of its legislative proposals regarding the application of apartheid to the universities of the Union. They are, in many ways, more drastic than had been feared even by the most pessimistic of those who have been campaigning for over five years against this threat to university autonomy.

### GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS

The Government proposes inter-

by **OLIVER GALDECOTT**  
Former Chairman, South African Students' Union

apartheid—including the governing bodies of the "mixed" universities, the National Union of South African Students, and many other societies and individuals—have long maintained that any enforced apartheid would:

1. Violate the traditional right of universities to decide their own terms of admission (exercised by the Afrikaner universities to exclude and by Cape Town and Witwaters-

international law that Egypt's claim to control shipping in the Straits of Tiran is ill-founded, there is no doubt that President Nasser is within his rights in claiming the re-establishment of Egyptian Administration in the Gaza Strip. No amount of indignation over fedayeen raids into Israel can alter this. Nor can legally acceptable evidence be furnished that he is at the back of such raids—and the question is not even affected by doubts whether he could put a stop to them.

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The greatest help towards a solution would now be if President Nasser, too, could forget internal prestige for a while, for the sake of two points: the possibility of removing the Gaza Strip from the list of red-hot contentious issues, and the diplomatic advantage of having made a concession—because, the fact of having made one would help towards the solution of the next point—to whom payment is to be made of the canal-passage dues when the waterway is re-opened.

### EOKA'S offer

**LAST** August, EOKA, the Cypriot nationalist organisation that has adopted violence as the means to the achievement of its ends, offered a cease-fire as a preliminary to the resumption of negotiations.

This was met by the laying down by Sir John Harding of conditions

As far as the future of Non-White higher education is concerned, the government has not allayed the fear that standards will be lowered. In its report, the "Holloway Commission" (appointed some years ago to investigate the practical problems of university apartheid) demonstrated that, in order to be equal to White university facilities, the Non-White colleges would have to be more heavily subsidised, because the general income level of the Non-White population was lower and, therefore, less private endowment would be forthcoming. But is this likely in a country where the White

## Gaza Cyprus Prisons

abandon terrorism should the Archbishop be permitted to return. This offer has been endorsed by the Ethnarchy Council in Cyprus, which has stated its conviction that such a move would help a return to peace.

### "Lucky Dip"

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As this note is written, however—and we can only hope that we are misreading the signs as to the Government's intention—it looks as if it is again relying on the characteristic brass-hat assumption; "one more good push, and the devils will cave in."

Since EOKA made its offer it has suspended its operations. Not so the British authorities. These have thought that what the occasion called for was a new drive against the EOKA forces, and on Sunday troops from five British battalions set out against them.

Such operations as these, for some infantile reason, have to have a "code-name" in these days.

The present one is called "Lucky Dip." It would surely be a pity to put an end to such a fascinating game, although the prize for many English and Cypriot lads is likely to be death.

### Penal matters

**PENAL** matters are coming into the limelight again and, what is more, the public is at last getting a true view of what goes on in prison. Peter Wildeblood's book **AGAINST THE LAW**, now coming into Penguins, is the outstanding example of several recent books by intelligent men who have served sentences imposed by less intelligent laws. Now the BBC is letting us have at least a few glimpses of prison and prisoners.

On four Friday nights in the Home Service, Cyril Ray is doing "Men Inside" a series which include recordings taken freely from prisoners, in the prison cell and in the absence of officers. Last week some of the

home Secretary usually winds up, with a defensive statement. Mr. Butler revealed his own astonishment at the absence of real knowledge in his department about the effects of prison treatment, and the small amount spent on research. The implied criticism of his predecessors and colleagues was allowed to pass.

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### New hope

**MR.** BUTLER said sentences seemed to be too long and our prisons were consequently too full, and he said that efforts to find more useful work for prisoners inside and outside prison were being stepped up. He also announced that pay, conditions and recruitment of prison staffs were to be the subject of a departmental committee as no such review had taken place for thirty years.

After all this, those with a real concern about prison matters heaved a great sigh of thankfulness that at last we had a Home Secretary who seemed, genuinely, to share their concern.

Anthony Greenwood, leading the opposition, congratulated Mr. Butler and pressed only for speed in attending to the position of officers, and for better after-care arrangements for prisoners.

Victor Yates reminded the House that our prisons were insanitary and overcrowded and years of reforming work would be needed.

Scholefield Allen, a lawyer and Recorder, complained about the entirely wrong attitude of magistrates in committing conscientious objectors to detention centres—but his appeal for a promise that the practice should stop did not produce any response.

Out of all this there is at least hope; it seems that Home Secretary Butler and his Under-Secretary, Jack Simon, are both keen for reform.

As the prison commissioners have been waiting since the days of Samuel Hoare for another Home Secretary who would take up their battles for them, there must be considerable rejoicing in Horseferry House.

## From the Editor's Notebook

Peace year book

500 people saw the film on March 13



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### GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS

The Government proposes *inter alia* to establish under ministerial control separate university facilities for Africans, Indians, and Coloured students. Until, but only until, these separate facilities become available, Non-White students—subject in each individual case to the approval of the Minister of Education—may continue to study at Cape Town and Witwatersrand, the two “mixed” universities.

As far as the Non-White colleges are concerned, teaching staff (who will be, in effect, civil servants) will not be allowed to “publicly comment adversely upon the administration of any department of the Government, or of any province, or of the territory of South-West Africa” or “cause or promote antagonism among any section of the population of the Union against any other section of the population of the Union, or impede, obstruct or undermine the activities of any Government department.” [The Times, March 14, 1957.]

The opponents of university

by **OLIVER GALDECOTT**

Former Chairman, South African Students' Union

apartheid—including the governing bodies of the “mixed” universities, the National Union of South African Students, and many other societies and individuals—have long maintained that any enforced apartheid would:

1. Violate the traditional right of universities to decide their own terms of admission (exercised by the Afrikaner universities to exclude and by Cape Town and Witwatersrand to admit Non-Whites);
2. Strike a grievous blow against the most successful experiment in co-operation yet attempted in South Africa;
3. Prepare the way for further encroachments upon university independence in matters of religion, politics and education;
4. Lower the standards of Non-European higher education.

The terms of the Bill make it clear that these fears have not been exaggerated. By making the professors and lecturers at the Non-White universities subordinate to ministerial control and by insisting on their political quiescence, by giving a Minister power to refuse students admission to universities, totalitarian powers are being placed in the hands of a government which has already demonstrated its contempt for democratic ideas and practices.

points: the possibility of removing the Gaza Strip from the list of red-hot contentious issues, and the diplomatic advantage of having made a concession—because, the fact of having made one would help towards the solution of the next point—to whom payment is to be made of the canal-passage dues when the waterway is re-opened.

### EOKA'S offer

**LAST** August, EOKA, the Cypriot nationalist organisation that has adopted violence as the means to the achievement of its ends, offered a cease-fire as a preliminary to the resumption of negotiations.

This was met by the laying down by Sir John Harding of conditions

As far as the future of Non-White higher education is concerned, the government has not allayed the fear that standards will be lowered. In its report, the “Holloway Commission” (appointed some years ago to investigate the practical problems of university apartheid) demonstrated that, in order to be equal to White university facilities, the Non-White colleges would have to be more heavily subsidised, because the general income level of the Non-White population was lower and, therefore, less private endowment would be forthcoming. But is this likely in a country where the White minority already feels that it is too heavily taxed to pay for Non-White social services?

### ROLE OF THE AFRICAN

When the Bantu Education Act was under discussion in the Union Parliament, the Minister of Native Affairs declared that it was not the Government's intention to “show the Non-European the pasture of European society in which he is not allowed to graze” and that the purpose of African school education was “to prepare him to meet the demands of South Africa's economic life”—in which the role of the African is one of unskilled, unlettered subservience.

We need not imagine that the Nationalist Government has any intention of violating its own apartheid principles by providing the Non-Whites with university facilities which would challenge White supremacy and domination.

Such operations as these, for some infantile reason, have to have a “code-name” in these days. The present one is called “Lucky Dip.” It would surely be a pity to put an end to such a fascinating game, although the prize for many English and Cypriot lads is likely to be death.

### Penal matters

**PENAL** matters are coming into the limelight again and, what is more, the public is at last getting a true view of what goes on in prison. Peter Wildeblood's book *AGAINST THE LAW*, now coming into Penguin, is the outstanding example of several recent books by intelligent men who have served sentences imposed by less intelligent laws. Now the BBC is letting us have at least a few glimpses of prison and prisoners.

On four Friday nights in the Home Service, Cyril Ray is doing “Men Inside” a series which include recordings taken freely from prisoners, in the prison cell and in the absence of officers. Last week some of the

commitment of prison staffs were to be the subject of a departmental committee as no such review had taken place for thirty years.

After all this, those with a real concern about prison matters heaved a great sigh of thankfulness that at last we had a Home Secretary who seemed, genuinely, to share their concern.

Anthony Greenwood, leading the opposition, congratulated Mr. Butler and pressed only for speed in attending to the position of officers, and for better after-care arrangements for prisoners.

Victor Yates reminded the House that our prisons were insanitary and overcrowded and years of reforming work would be needed.

Scholefield Allen, a lawyer and Recorder, complained about the entirely wrong attitude of magistrates in committing conscientious objectors to detention centres—but his appeal for a promise that the practice should stop did not produce any response.

Out of all this there is at least hope; it seems that Home Secretary Butler and his Under-Secretary, Jack Simon, are both keen for reform.

As the prison commissioners have been waiting since the days of Samuel Hoare for another Home Secretary who would take up their battles for them, there must be considerable rejoicing in Horseferry House.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### Peace year book

**A** NEW edition of the British Peace Year Book is out (2s. 6d. from the National Peace Council, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1).

This is an indispensable directory for all who take an interest in international affairs for it lists the specialised agencies of UN, British and international groups concerned with world affairs, British peace literature published during 1955-6, and the world's peace journals. Appendices include details of arms expenditure, Nobel Peace Prize winners and other useful information.

### 500 at their film shows

**A**T a time when there is great public interest in the H-bomb, the British Fellowship of Reconciliation have done well to arrange a number of showings of the film “Children of Hiroshima.”

In Nottingham and Hucknall, FoR Secretary, Leslie J. Hale, tells me, over

500 people saw the film on March 13 and 14. A splendid achievement for a pacifist group.

“It may be of interest to other groups planning to show the film,” Leslie Hale points out, “to know that two showings were given on March 14, at 7.30 p.m. and 8.45 p.m. This, with announcements made as brief as possible, allows 15-20 minutes for the change of audience and the last showing ends at about 10.15 p.m.”

“Our hall, which holds about 150, was comfortably full for each performance.”

### Thoughtful

*In the US Senate on January 15, 1957:*

**SENATOR MANSFIELD:** “Have we given any thought to negotiating with the Soviet Union on some sort of settlement for the Middle East?”

**MR. DULLES:** “We have given some thought to it, yes, sir.”

**MR. MANSFIELD:** “Just thought?”

**MR. DULLES:** “Yes.”



## Suez: troop movements queried

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

IN the House of Commons recently, George Wigg, MP (Lab., Dudley), asked the Minister of Defence whether he will publish a White Paper giving the movement of British naval ships, Royal Air Force aircraft, and troops from the United Kingdom to Malta and Cyprus during the periods October 16 to 25 and October 26 to 30.

He also wanted information regarding their movement from Malta and Cyprus to Port Said from October 30 onwards, the movement of French troops and military aircraft to Cyprus prior to October 16 and from October 16 to 30, the movement of French military aircraft from Cyprus to Israel up to and including October 15, from October 16 to 25, and from October 26 onwards.

The Minister of Defence refused this.

Mr. Wigg then asked if Mr. Sandys would be prepared to publish the information in the Official Report.

### HISTORY OF EVENTS

Philip Noel-Baker, MP (Lab., South Derby) remarked that the information would be of great importance in the preparation of the history of events in the Mediterranean between July and December last year. He believed that such information would enable the nation to form a judgment on those events, and asked: "on what grounds of security or public interest does the Minister propose not to give this information?"

"I am inclined to think that those events have not yet passed into the realm of history," replied Mr. Sandys.

Following several interruptions, Mr. Wigg announced his intention to raise the matter again on the Adjournment.

## PORT SAID PHOTOGRAPHER REPLIES TO MR. BUTLER

PER OLOW ANDERSON, the Swedish photographer whose pictures of Port Said after the Franco-British invasion were published in Peace News last November, has replied to the personal attack made on him by Mr. Butler and Mr. Leather in the House of Commons on Dec. 10, 1956.

He has published his reply in the January "Scribe" an Egyptian periodical. The issue

This is the background against which Martin Niemöller will be speaking in London on Tuesday evening.

## PACIFISM IN GERMANY

(A report received from Marie Cramer, Freundschaftsheim, Buckeburg, translated by Dr. F. D. Meyer-Klugel.)

AFTER the First World War there was a great open-mindedness for renunciation of war and work for peace. But the revival of nationalism soon put a stop to this and pacifist organisations were forbidden, if they did not disband on their own accord.

Many leading pacifists had to leave the country, some were thrown into prisons and concentration camps, or under the terror of persecution took their own lives.

The conscientious objectors of the Second World War were executed, their number is unknown. Most of them were Jehovah's Witnesses, but others also paid with their lives, among them Hermann Stöhr, one of the former secretaries of the German branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Roman Catholic theologian Paulus Metzger.

Immediately after the Second World War the various pacifist organisations were revived and quickly spread. The "Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft" (German Peace Society) started again under the leadership of the ex-general von Schönaich, and its present leader is Dr. Fritz Wenzel, a Member of the Federal Parliament. He also leads the German branch of the War Resisters' International.

### Pacifist organisations

There is also again the German branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, lead by its founder, Professor Siegmund Schultze, there is a "Weltorganisation der Mütter aller Nationen" (World Association of Mothers of all Nations), and the Roman Catholic "Pax Christi Bewegung" (Pax Christi Movement).

In the Russian Zone these organisations are not allowed, but they have their branches of the "Weltfriedensbewegung" (World Peace Movement) and the "Deutsche Friedensrat" (German Peace Council), with some Christian

photos show journalists viewing rooms in the ransacked houses).

In his reply to Mr. Butler's charge that he was a "Quisling", Anderson asks whether Mr. Butler really looked into his "war dossier."

"Had you done so," he writes, "you would have found that this Mr. Per Olow Anderson had been a soldier in the Finnish-Russian war of 1939-40 on the side of the Finns.

"Having fought with the Partisans against the German Nazi Army in Norway in 1940, I later joined the British Secret Service and

Socialists and pacifists working within these organisations.

In recent years a number of leading personalities from the Protestant Churches have spoken out for peace, among them the former U-boat officer, Martin Niemöller (President of the Church of Hesse), D. Wilm (President of the Church of Westphalia), the church councillors Kloppenburg (Dortmund) and Professor Dr. Beckmann (Düsseldorf) and Pastor Bauer (Stuttgart).

### Workers for peace

The traditional "Peace Churches" (Quaker, Mennonites and Church of the Brethren) did great relief work in post war Germany through their branches abroad. Also Unitarians and Methodists showed an increasing eagerness to work for peace.

In the Roman Catholic Church individuals who advanced the peace idea included the theologian, Romano Gurdini. The poet, Reinhold Schneider, who encouraged many through his poetry during the years of Nazism, last year received the "Peace Prize of the German Booksellers."

There is also Helene Wessel, Member of the Federal Parliament, and L. Stummel, an ex-admiral who as the result of his experiences in the two wars became an ardent war resister and pacifist.

Other workers for peace are the poet Hermann Hesse, the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, and Max Tau and C. J. Burckhardt.

When the Federal Republic of Western Germany was formed in 1948, it was due to Frau Frida Nadig (Bielefeld) that a clause was inserted into the constitution saying that "no one is to be compelled against his conscience to do combatant military service."

### Conscientious objection

In 1950 the discussion on re-armament and conscription started, with public opinion strongly objecting to re-militarisation. When private polls showed 70 per cent against re-armament, the Government prohibited a general plebiscite. As a result of this change of policy Dr. Gustav Heinemann resigned as Minister for Home Affairs.

The same year the Protestant Synod of Berlin-Weissensee, passed a resolution, that "whoever for conscientious reasons refuses

March 22, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## A LARGER, BETTER PEACE NEWS FOR 4d.

THERE will be eight pages of Peace News every week from mid-April. And the price will remain at 4d.

The page-size will be reduced slightly, making the paper easier to handle, and readers will notice a clearer, easier-to-read, type face.



The enlarged paper will also see the first of a new weekly Peace News series on foreign and colonial affairs, written by FENNER BROCKWAY, MP.

Known throughout Africa for his life-long struggle against colonialism, Fenner Brockway is held in high regard in Britain by tens of thousands of conscientious objectors and their families for his work as Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. In the USA he is well remembered as one of the American Friends Service Committee's outstanding visiting lecturers.

The new Peace News will be out on April 18 (the Thursday before Good Friday). This is the day on which Penguin Books will publish Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale's "Is Peace Possible?" A full-length review by Stuart Morris, with excerpts from this important book, will appear in Peace News on publication day.

These are days of great opportunity for those who work for peace, since people are more readily inclined to listen to our arguments.

Backed up by a loyal band of voluntary workers in London and the provinces, and in the USA and other countries, and with every possible economy made in the production of the paper, we believe we can continue to publish this bigger and better Peace News without our publishing deficit going far beyond £5,000.

At their last Board meeting, the Directors had to consider raising the price to 6d. They decided against this because our street sellers and local distributors want the price kept at a popular level.

Once again then we have to raise £5,000, of which we expect £1,500 to come from the sale of Christmas Cards and books and £3,500 from readers of this fortnightly appeal.

Is this a right decision? The raising of £3,500 is not easy, and we have never yet secured it from this appeal. We are also a long way from the nearly £900 which we should reach by the end of the first quarter, by March 31.



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## "Not a Quisling"

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"What the British troops have done to Port Said's homes in the way of looting and stealing is unbelievable," says Anderson. "What they could not steal they destroyed." "... Radio sets thrown out of the windows, refrigerators smashed into bits, gas-stoves ruined . . . There are no words to describe the uncivilised way these soldiers treated the flats and villas before their withdrawal.

"I moved in as the British troops moved out. I took these pictures on my own . . . I am not hired by any Egyptian authority . . . I am just as mad about what has happened as the other neutral journalists who accompanied me during the three days we stayed in Port Said and Port Fuad." (Many of his

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"Under the name of Mr. Anders Olow Penderon of Sondregatan 5, Trondheim, Norway, the Norwegian Partisan Party issued a false identification card to me, which was also supported by the British.

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The same year the Protestant Synod of Berlin-Weissensee passed a resolution that "whoever for conscientious reasons, refuses military service, can be assured of the Church's sympathy and prayers of intercession."

In the critical Parliamentary debate the Roman Catholic Member of Parliament, Dr. Nellen, pleaded for "absolute respect for conscientious objection."

But then all-out propaganda for re-armament and conscription started, and it was sad to see the Churches conform.

Over the issue of rearmament and conscription Dr. Heinemann (President of the Federation of all Synods of Western and Eastern Germany) was not re-elected, and Dr. Martin Niemöller lost his presidency of the Foreign Department of the Churches.

Others who kept resisting re-militarisation were the professors of theology Iwand, Gollwitzer and Wolf.

## Resistance to conscription

Of the leading Protestant magazines the "Stimme der Gemeinde" (Voice of the Congregation) and "Junge Kirche" (Young Church) still stood up for peace. Walter Dignath wrote "Kirche, Krieg und Kriegsdienst" (Church, War, and Military Service), Wilhelm Mensching "Jesus im politischen Zeitgeschehen" (Jesus in the political situation), and Horst Dietrich "Von der Rechtfertigung des Krieges" (Concerning Justification of War), all three pleading for peace.

Resistance against conscription has remained strong among the younger generation. The YMCA, however, will not commit itself against war, except that one of its secretaries, H. de Boer, supports the peace idea in his book "Unterwegs Notiert" (Wayside Notes). Al-

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We ask for a special effort in the next few weeks—for extra backing for the paper of the future.

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Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: to protest against H-bombs, £4; from Bradford, £1; from Liverpool, £1.

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# START TODAY



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#### LOOTING OF PORT SAID

Shown above is a room in the Port Said home of Mrs. Willa Elwy, wife of a Canadian engineer. The large carton on the bed had contained RASC supplies of wheat flakes.

Other photos taken by Anderson show family portraits and toys destroyed; the contents of drawers and wardrobes strewn across the floor; upholstery, carpets and oil paintings slashed; and plumbing, lighting and other fixtures wrecked.

Published with the photographs is a statement by British General Hugh Stockwell in which he said:

"I am proud to report that only five cases of petty pilfering were recorded. There was not one case of organised looting. Even now, when they are preparing to quit Egypt, only nineteen offences involving civilian life and property are on the books. However, there will be no question of a court case.

"On the road the British soldier has been a seeker after lost children and a settler of Arab duels. His gentle British justice would have made the world proud. When French paratroops murdered two unarmed Egyptian boys aged 12 and 14 the British soldier arranged the funeral. If this campaign stinks in some quarters, it is no fault of the British serviceman."

Anderson claims that his pictures effectively contradict the General's statement.

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The only political party opposed to re-militarisation is the Social Democratic Party. They have declared that they will abolish conscription again, as soon as they come to power.

Shortly before conscription became law, a Board for Conscientious Objection was formed under the leadership of Professor Siegmund Schultze. On it are represented the various pacifist organisations, Churches and youth organisations. The Board has opened Advisory Bureaux in many towns. Also the Freundschaft Heim (Friendship House), founded by Pastor Dr. Wilhelm Mensching at Bückeburg, has already been advising and training hundreds of peace workers.

Sixteen conscientious objectors were sent to detention centres during the twelve months ending January 31, 1957. The Secretary of State for the Home Department revealed this in a written reply last month to Sir Leslie Plummer, MP (Lab., Deptford).

#### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to:

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

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# WHY WORK CAMPS?

*This essay took first place in the 1956 Work Camp Article Contest sponsored by the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps. The author is Fr. Odilon Hogema, of Weert, the Netherlands, a volunteer with the Bouworde work camp organisation.*

STAN bent heavily over a screw which sank deeper into the wood of an enormous window frame with each turn of his hand. A stout Flemish carpenter's helper, he balanced all his power on the point of his screwdriver as though the result of his efforts had to be visible at the other end of the world.

His thoughts, however, seemed to be less international, for suddenly he put a question to the other young men working around him. "Why," he asked, "does a Dutchman come to work in Flanders, a Fleming to Germany, a German to France?"

Yes, there we were, voluntary builders in a foreign country. Why had we Dutchmen come to Caen, Beveren, Lethmate, Worms and Sekcach? Why did we not build in our own country? Why this uneconomic exchange of voluntary workers?

## Language of deeds

The screw had still not disappeared into the wood as though it, too, waited for a reply. Leo, the most simple participant among us promptly replied, without looking up from his work, "Well, you see, it's to promote international understanding."

"Oh," said Stan, "I didn't realise that." And the screw now completely disappeared.

The rest of us wondered whether Stan really *did* understand and whether Leo's reply had not been a bit too simple. But how could one explain to a phlegmatic Fleming something so intangible and difficult of description? What did the term "international understanding" mean to our matter-of-fact carpenter's helper, Stan?

A language he did understand was the language of deeds. Perhaps the voluntary work camp itself was the best way for Stan, and those like him, to understand that although Germans, Frenchmen and Dutchmen are different they can still be good friends and honest comrades. Our working together produced a unity which one does not find in the superficial contacts between tourists.

Can a more educating activity be found for young people than voluntarily working with their own hands in a small international community, a work camp?

## How the work camp idea grew

by PAUL BOYER

*Assistant to the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps.*

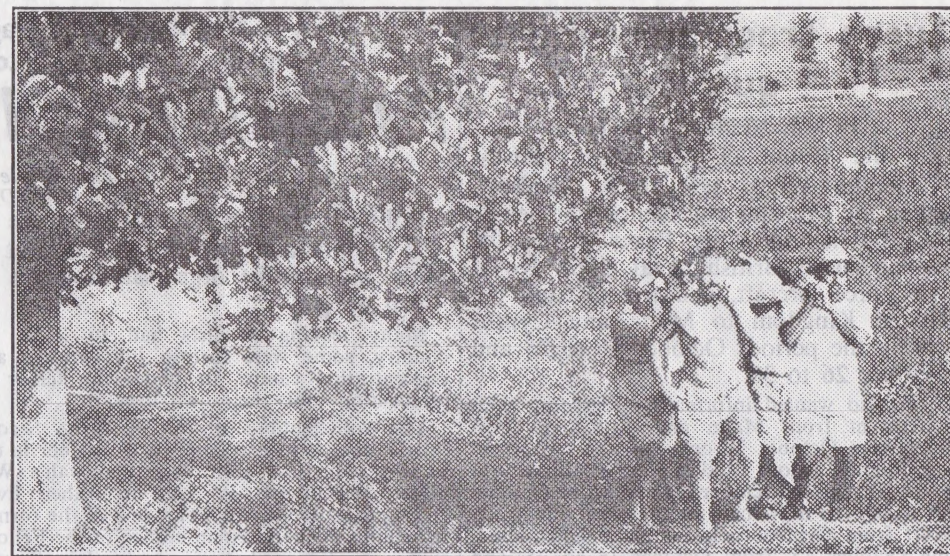
THERE'S nothing new about the voluntary work camp idea. A tradition going back thousands of years to the Vedic Age in India once made it a duty for each individual to give certain services to his community, one of which was "Shramdan," the gift of labour. Perhaps it was just such a group of Indian villagers giving a day of "Shramdan" labour and joined by a visiting foreign pilgrim or trader who, unwittingly, formed the first "international voluntary work camp," thousands of years ago.

At any rate, the voluntary service idea has remained alive down through the centuries and in the past 35 years has experienced a tremendous growth. In 1920 a Swiss visionary named Pierre Ceresole organised a voluntary reconstruction camp near the war-scarred battlefield of Verdun, France. As volunteers from Germany, France and other countries worked to repair the ravages which "The Great War" had inflicted upon innocent victims, Service Civil International—the first work camp organisation—was born.

## UNESCO CONFERENCE

Just as a small pebble can set in motion a mighty avalanche, so the work camp movement has grown from this modest beginning. Just take a look at the statistics: in 1953 there were about 1,150 work camps with 32,000 volunteers; in 1956, only three years later there were 2,600 camps with over 140,000 volunteers! And these volunteers didn't get together to talk or have a pleasant holiday.

They worked with plain old-fashioned pick and shovel, doing jobs that needed to be done, repairing and clearing rubble in earthquake



Trainees carrying cement to the project from the camp Godown, Kengeri, India. Pictured are one US volunteer, one Indonesian and two Indians.

sibilities for the expansion of work camps into new areas—is carried on.

Mr. Hans-Peter Muller is Executive Secretary of the Committee.

In recent years, the work of the Co-ordination Committee has expanded to include such far-ranging activities as the organisation of regional Work Camp Leader Training Courses all over the world.

Like a timid swimmer who first tests the chilly waves with his toe and then gradually builds his courage for the plunge into the deep water, the Committee has been moving farther and farther from "shore" in locating these Regional Training Camps: 1954—Germany, 1955—Egypt and in 1956—India.

The Youth Section of UNESCO works closely with the Co-ordination Committee in all these projects. In addition to providing office facilities free of charge to the Committee, UNESCO gives an annual subvention to the Committee to help in the expenses (The other major source of income for the committee is the voluntary contributions received from its co-operating work camp organisations).

Asia and Africa are playing an increasingly important role in twentieth century life, and the voluntary service concept has shared in this renaissance in this awakening area of the world.

In India, the cradle of "Shramdan" so many centuries ago, almost 115,000 volunteers (over 70 per cent of the world's total) took part in some form of work camp activity in 1956. Quite a jump for a country which in 1951 reported 29 work camps and 425 volunteers!

## TRAINING PROJECT IN INDIA

THE first inter-organisational and international work camp to be held in South East Asia took place in India last year.

On September 16, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, the Deputy Minister for Education, inaugurated the Training Project in Work Camp Methods and Techniques for South East Asia at Kengeri in Bangalore.

Thirty-five people took part. They represented twelve countries and spoke twenty different languages between them.

Five of the members were women. These, whilst the men were engaged on construction and repair work, gave demonstrations in sewing and the patching of clothing, taught mothers and young girls how to make simple cut-out garments, and gave instructions on the basic principles of hygiene.

Responsibility for the kitchen also fell to the women. With the help of a South Indian vegetarian cook, a local girl helper and a dietician, they managed to provide meals which suited the tastes of vegetarians and non-vegetarians alike.

## Kengeri camp

Among the campers was a doctor. During the mornings and evenings he made his way from house to house visiting and treating about seventy patients for malaria, jaundice and skin



## Language of deeds

The screw had still not disappeared into the wood as though it, too, waited for a reply. Leo, the most simple participant among us promptly replied, without looking up from his work, "Well, you see, it's to promote international understanding."

"Oh," said Stan, "I didn't realise that." And the screw now completely disappeared.

The rest of us wondered whether Stan really *did* understand and whether Leo's reply had not been a bit too simple. But how *could* one explain to a phlegmatic Fleming something so intangible and difficult of description? What did the term "international understanding" mean to our matter-of-fact carpenter's helper, Stan?

A language he did understand was the language of deeds. Perhaps the voluntary work camp itself was the best way for Stan, and those like him, to understand that although Germans, Frenchmen and Dutchmen are different they can still be good friends and honest comrades. Our working together produced a unity which one does not find in the superficial contacts between tourists.

Can a more educating activity be found for young people than voluntarily working with their own hands in a small international community, a work camp?

## Spark of goodness

This *building*—of international understanding—surpasses even the concrete building project. It gives expression to an inner desire for a better world, a world in which all humanity becomes aware of its common fate, its *oneness*. When we were children the world seemed to us immense. Now we find it is small and crowded with human beings for whom life should be a joy, but for whom, in reality, it is too often a painful burden.

The aspiration to help lift this burden knows only one people—the United Nations—mankind. United they will have to be to find in all their fellow men that spark of goodness and unity which makes us all brothers. This, perhaps, is partially what we mean when we speak of "international understanding."

Should we say all this to Stan? Well, he has already passed to the following screw and is again concentrating all his forces on the point of his screwdriver. We hope, with him, that the result of our efforts *will* someday be visible "at the other end of the world."

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They worked with plain old-fashioned pick and shovel, doing jobs that needed to be done, repairing and clearing rubble in earthquake areas in the Lebanon and flooded areas in the United States, building sea walls in Holland and avalanche barriers in Austria, constructing homes for refugees in Germany and Austria, improving slum housing conditions in the world's great cities like Philadelphia, London, Paris and Brussels and taking part in the tremendous Community Development programmes of South-East Asia.

In 1948 UNESCO called a conference of work camp organisers in Paris to provide an opportunity for the leaders of the movement to meet and pool their experience and discuss mutual problems. At this conference the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps was formed.

From this beginning in 1948, until the present, the Co-ordination Committee has maintained a permanent Secretariat at UNESCO House, Paris, where its year-round work—supplying work camp information to prospective volunteers, publishing various specialised documents related to work camps, co-ordinating the activities of work camp organisations, organising a yearly get-together for work camp volunteers and exploring pos-

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## LEADER TRAINING

Responding to this challenging growth, the Co-ordination Committee organised a Leader Training Camp in the small village of Kengeri near Bangalore, India in September and October of 1956. Volunteers from India, Japan, Holland, the USA, Nepal, France, Thailand, Indonesia, Pakistan, Switzerland and the Philippines worked together and discussed work camp methods best suited to their particular national problems.

And the "timid swimmer" is venturing even farther out in the surf and finding the water is fine!

It is planned to convene the Eleventh Conference of Work Camp Organisers in India in 1958, the first time in its history that this important Conference has been held outside Europe.—*Abridged from the New Delhi Statesman's Unesco Supplement.*

## What's on in work camps in 1957?

**THE** Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps (c/o Youth Section UNESCO, 19 Avenue Kléber, Paris 16, France) which lists projected work camps for 1957, mentions camps being planned in 45 countries in five continents.

Africa: Algeria, Ghana, Kenya, Sudan, Tunisia.

America (North): Alaska, Canada, USA, Virgin Islands.

America (Central): Cuba, El Salvador, Jamaica, Mexico, Puerto Rico (USA).

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One of the women was a veterinary surgeon. She gave demonstration operations on bullocks with various ailments, and explained the proper care of animals.

Preparations at Kengeri were undertaken co-operatively by several leaders who came before the camp started, and daily programmes were planned by the group as a whole after the camp began. Each camper was encouraged to express his own ideas freely in matters of planning, discussion or decision.

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**America (South):** Brazil, Ecuador.

**Asia (Middle East):** Israel, Lebanon.

**Asia (South East):** Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan.

**Asia (Far East):** Japan, Korea, Malaya, Philippines, Thailand.

**Australasia:** Australia.

**Europe:** Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic), Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey.

The work camps are sponsored by 60 different organisations from many countries.

### S.C.I. PLANS

Service Civil International (77 Bd. Jean Jaures, Clichy (Seine), France) are planning camps in Tunisia, India, Pakistan, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland, while the British section International Voluntary Service for Peace will be running camps in Ghana and Britain.

IVSP are running a work camp at Ampthill in Bedfordshire from April 13-27, where the work will be clearing woodland and another camp at Ringwood in Hampshire from April 23-May 17. Eight volunteers are needed for the Ampthill camp and 10 for the Ringwood camp.

Further information regarding IVSP work camps can be obtained from their new address at 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

The Friends Ambulance Unit will be carrying out various projects in Britain. Information concerning the FAU may be obtained from Jack Norton, Tunmers, Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.

The American Friends Service Committee will be undertaking work camps in many parts of America including Indian reservations. They will also be holding overseas work camps in Europe, the Middle East and Japan.

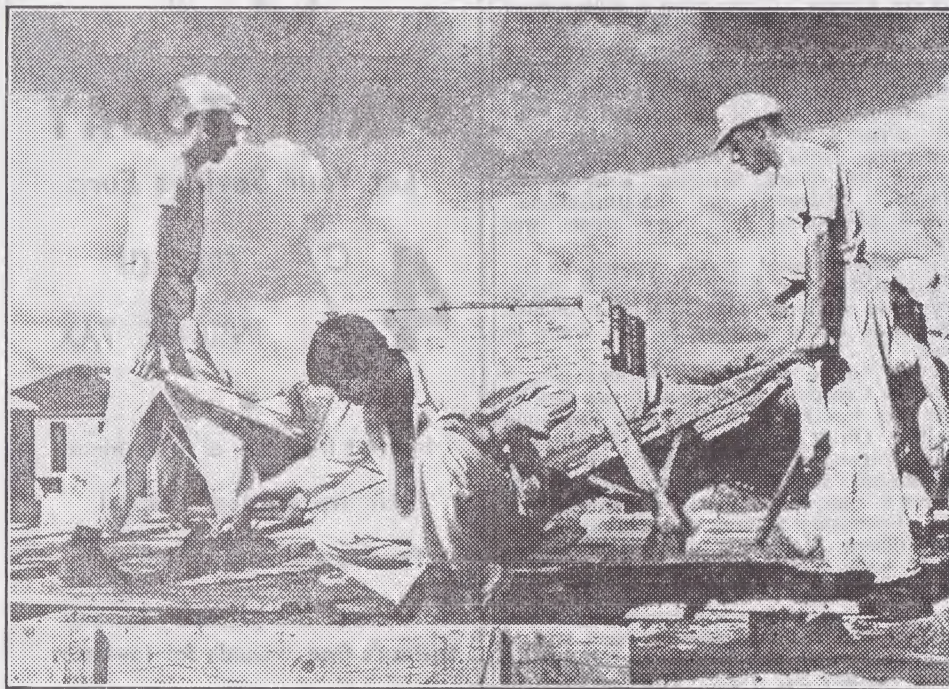
International Seminars are another feature of AFSC work. The seminars study problems of international relationships and under the guidance of skilled consultants analyse economic, political and psychological causes of international conflict. Members live closely as an international family, sharing household tasks and recreational activities.

There will be seminars in the USA of two to four weeks duration, also three in Europe and two in Japan, where they will be preceded or followed by a work camp.

### A.F.S.C. SEMINARS

International Student Seminars will be held in Austria, France, Yugoslavia, and there will be many in the USA.

For further information about programmes of the American Friends Service Committee US readers should write to the nearest AFSC office: Austin 5, Texas, 2106 Nueces St.; Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, PO Box 247; Chicago 2, Illinois, 59 East Madison St.; Columbus 5, Ohio, 1309 East Broad St.; Des Moines 12, Iowa, 4211 Grand Ave.; Greensboro, North Carolina, PO Box 3244; New York 3, New York, 144 East 20th st.; Pasadena, California, PO Box 966-M; Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, 20 South 12th St.; Portland 14, Oregon, 1108 S.E. Grand Ave.; Richmond, Indiana, 8 Quaker Hill Drive; San Francisco 15, California, 1830 Sutter St.; Seattle 5, Washington, 3959 15th Ave. N.E.



Work in progress at a Bouworde camp.

## YOUTH SERVICE VOLUNTEERS

**CONCORDIA** (Youth Service Volunteers)

Ltd., are arranging a programme of farming camps in various places in Great Britain. Overseas camps in various European countries will perform reconstruction, forestry

and farming work. All volunteers should be between 16 and 25 years of age. For further information write enclosing a stamped addressed envelope to The Recruitment Secretary, “Concordia,” 38a Kings Rd., Sloan Sq., London, S.W.3.



# REPORT FROM KAISERSLAUTERN

## *The Pax boys are there too*

by OMER ANDERSON (WAP Correspondent in Bonn)

THE military might of the US and America's will for peace are both dramatically represented in the same German city, Kaiserslautern, in the Rhineland. Here are concentrated American nuclear weapons and jet fighters for the European continent and, here too, are the Mennonite Headquarters for American Conscientious Objectors working in Europe.

One hundred young men from 25 States are engaged in four projects in Germany, one in Austria, and one in Greece, organised by Pax. In Vienna a unit is helping to rebuild a Protestant parochial school, in Greece the King and Queen recently paid warm tributes to CO units working as farm hands in isolated northern villages. In Germany they are helping to resettle more than 12,000 Mennonites (5,000 of whom lack housing) who fled from East Germany in the wake of Soviet occupation.

Pax provides most of the labour force and the 10 per cent thus saved on construction is contributed as a down-payment for these homes on behalf of refugees who can, later, carry long-term mortgages.

### MENNONITE BELIEFS

The majority of the COs have come from well-to-do American farming families and have had at least high school education. They work as labourers for a minimum of two years without receiving pay and their families usually provide the required \$1,800 for the keep of one man. They must be at least 18½ years of age, they may neither drink nor smoke and they lead a rigid life with a back-breaking 49 hour work week.

Most of them have had no previous experience in the building trade but they learn quickly to become skilled masons, carpenters, brick and tile layers, and electrical workers. German foremen usually direct construction work and local firms fulfil specialised contracts.

Pax-built housing developments have risen at Backnang near Stuttgart, Wedel near Hamburg, Berchtersdissen near Bielefeld, and Enkenbach near Kaiserslautern. At Enkenbach the housing project was started in May, 1953 with full crews able to build the basic structure for large four-family residences in less than six weeks.

On weekends the workers have occasionally used US army facilities, such as basketball courts and the gymnasium. The labour crews live in the first house of the development under construction and a woman volunteer who must be unmarried and over 28, acts as cook, housekeeper and housemother for them until they move on.

Pax relief and rehabilitation work is not con-

entire communities. There are approximately 200,000 Mennonites in the US, 45,000 in Holland, 7,000 in W. Germany, 2,500 in Switzerland, 2,000 in France, and about 20,000 in Russia, who emigrated there from Prussia in 1770. They are a fundamentalist, conservative Christian sect who do not accept divorce, are hard-working and prosperous and faithful church goers.

Commenting on Pax work, Dwight Wiebe, its director, said: "In order to share our conviction, one must be willing to prove oneself by example, working harder and enduring more. Otherwise our stand in the eyes of the world would not be justified."

## UNA to help the refugees

THIS summer, from approximately mid-July to mid-September, the United Nations Association International Service is sponsoring three or four work camps in Austria to help the resettlement and housing programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

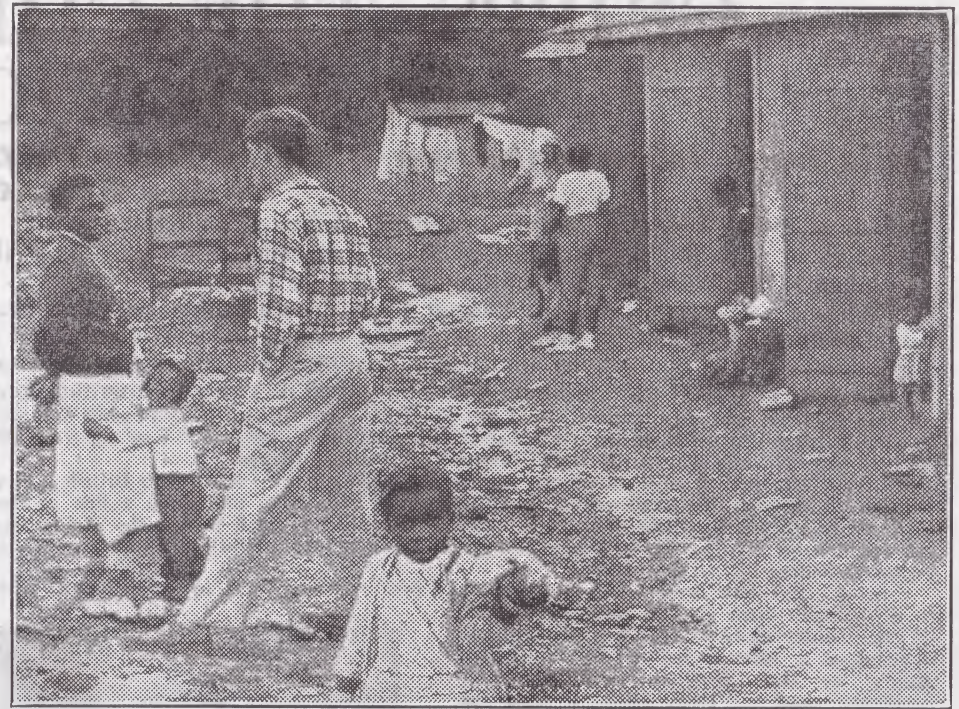
The work, which is mainly unskilled, will include road making, digging of foundations and other building work, assisting refugees who are building their own homes.

There will also be a work camp in Derbyshire in England and possibly one in Hanover in Germany.

Volunteers, about a third of whom will be women, will vary in age between 18 and 50 and will come from many countries. They will include a few skilled craftsmen, though the majority will be unskilled. Everyone will be expected to work for a minimum of a fortnight if possible.

The women will do most of the domestic work but the men will help occasionally in the kitchens. Volunteers will have opportunities for seeing something of the surrounding country and getting to know the people, including the refugees with whom they will be working.

Food and accommodation will be provided but volunteers will pay their own fares, though UNA can arrange for travel at



## HELPING THE MIGRANT WORKERS

EACH summer thousands of migrant workers move into camps throughout many parts of the United States to harvest vegetable crops and pick fruit. Migrants are usually Negroes from the southern States, Mexicans, or Puerto Ricans.

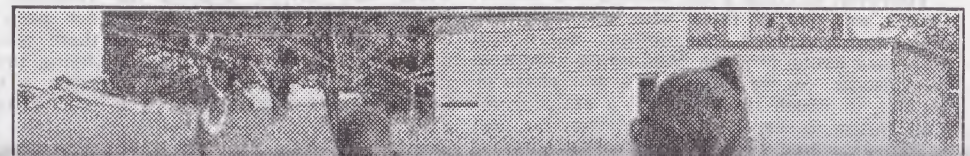
The American Friends Service Committee generally has one work camp each summer at a migrant site. This coming summer the Middle Atlantic Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee will operate such a camp at Clinton, in the State of New York. The work campers will work with four camps which are not far apart. Each camp has one hundred or so migrants living in one room per family, similar to that shown in the picture

above, taken at an AFSC work camp in Ulysses, Pennsylvania, in 1954.

The southern Negroes go to Clinton to pick beans and peas. The children are left unattended while parents and older brothers and sisters work in the fields. There are no recreational facilities for either children or adults.

Work campers will build simple recreation shelters, construct playgrounds, and offer a child care programme (photo below). An attempt will be made to secure the co-operation of migrants in doing some work on improving the atmosphere of the camps by cleaning up the grounds, planting flowers, and doing some painting.

The work campers spend some time in the fields picking beans with the migrants for a little personal experience with backs that have been bent for a full day.





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On weekends the workers have occasionally used US army facilities, such as basketball courts and the gymnasium. The labour crews live in the first house of the development under construction and a woman volunteer who must be unmarried and over 28, acts as cook, housekeeper and housemother for them until they move on.

Pax relief and rehabilitation work is not confined to Europe however, and there are Mennonite projects in South America, Asia and Africa. One is under way in Tenes, Algeria, scene of the tragic earthquake which destroyed

church goers.

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Further particulars may be obtained from UNA International Service, 25 Charles St., London, W.1.



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## YOUTH BUILDS FOR PEACE

### 28,600 visitors to N.P.C. stand

*The following is a report of the National Peace Council's stand at the National Schoolboy's Own Exhibition which was held at The Royal Horticultural Hall, London, from December 31, 1956—January 12, 1957. The Exhibition is a well established feature at which commercial firms, nationalised industries, voluntary organisations and the Armed Services are represented by their stands.*

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**T**HE stand occupied only some 100 square feet but was well sited on a side-wall near the entrance to the larger hall. Its theme, "Youth Builds for Peace," was concerned principally with what was being done by young people in international work camps, with supporting reference to the work of holiday, youth and other organisations.

These were illustrated by posters and photographs attractively mounted on the wall and by photographs in books on the counter. These

List of organisations co-operating in the National Peace Council stand at the 1956 Exhibition:

conscientious objection and holiday organisations. Among those who engaged them in conversation were grammar schoolboys, young National Servicemen, a Scoutmaster, Training College instructor, etc. University students, of

competition from much wealthier concerns.

At the least, the international responsibilities of the young citizen, and suggestions about how they might be fulfilled, have been brought very firmly to the notice of about 30,000 people



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These were illustrated by posters and photographs attractively mounted on the wall and by photographs in books on the counter. These took the attention of the older adolescents and adults; the youngsters, however, were magnetised by an electric "quiz" machine—the gift of the Friends Ambulance Unit.

This offered four alternative answers to each of 16 questions; if the youngster pressed the button opposite the wrong answer the "No" panel lit up, while the correct button lit up a panel which gave further information. The questions were intended to offer a judicious mixture of "international" affairs (particularly international personalities) and "general interest."

## Literature available

The literature available included a leaflet, "Youth Builds for Peace," specially written for the occasion, in the form of a conversation. Some 13,000 copies of this were distributed. In addition, each organisation supplied what it could of leaflets, etc., describing its own work.

The opportunity was taken (by the British Federation of Young Co-operators) to sell UNESCO gift coupons, and by the Friends' Service Council to sell packets of postage stamps. There were also small sales of weekly journals, including Peace News.

The staff consisted of two Friends' Ambulance Unit men who were on duty alternatively throughout the whole fortnight and on whom, consequently, chief responsibility for the functioning of the stall rested. They were assisted by over 40 volunteers who worked in three shifts throughout the day. The volunteers were of all ages and both sexes, although the majority were probably under 30 years of age.

List of organisations co-operating in the National Peace Council stand at the 1956 Exhibition:

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.  
British Federation of Young Co-operators.  
Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
FAU International Service.  
Friends Peace Committee.  
Friends Work Camps Committee.  
Holiday Fellowship Ltd.  
International Friendship League.  
International Voluntary Service for Peace.  
Mennonite Voluntary Service.  
Methodist Department of Christian Citizenship.  
National Adult School Union.  
Peace Pledge Union.  
Student Christian Movement.  
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.  
The Woodcraft Folk.

For the NPC this was an experiment, entered upon against discouraging warnings from other organisations, little idea of costs and less of how they were to be covered, and no previous experience as a guide. In the event, the venture was well justified.

## Value of the experiment

Even on a crude calculation of numbers the response was astonishing. A tally of those who for one reason or another stopped at the stall showed that over the fortnight there were, on a conservative estimate, 28,600 visitors. While many of these were youngsters with eyes principally for the "quiz" machine, perhaps 10 per cent were adolescents and another 10 per cent adults.

The staff reckoned on a rough calculation that they had probably some 200 interviews on subjects covering work camps, international affairs,



conscientious objection and holiday organisations. Among those who engaged them in conversation were grammar schoolboys, young National Servicemen, a Scoutmaster, Training College instructor, etc. University students, of whom there were a few groups, tended to ignore the stall.

A sizeable number of enquirers filled in forms, asking for further information about work camps and other organisations at the stall, and these requests have been passed on.

As an effort of co-operation the venture was well worth while since it brought into joint working some 14 national organisations of all kinds, and the fact that between them they produced over 40 volunteers is in itself very satisfactory.

## Cost of the stand

Financially, it is still rather too early to say how the balance will be struck. It looks as though the total cost will be about £230, while up to the present only £200 has been received. It is hoped, however, that those organisations which have not so far contributed will now be willing to do so.

With confidence it can be said that the NPC and those who co-operated with it gained from the exhibition at least as much as any other type of organisation there, probably more, considering the smallness of the stand and the

competition from much wealthier concerns.

At the least, the international responsibilities of the young citizen, and suggestions about how they might be fulfilled, have been brought very firmly to the notice of about 30,000 people of all ages who visited the Exhibition for quite other reasons.

At the best, a large number whose minds had been moving in that direction were able here to find the information they needed, and many organisations should benefit from the result.

## Suggestions for the future

If the venture should be repeated this year, it is essential that preparations should be made a long way ahead (the three months which was all that was available last year was too little). In particular, the organisations which wish to take part should give early notice of their intention and should be grouped into, e.g., work camps, religious, pacifist, educational, holiday organisations, each group making itself responsible for:

1. Raising an agreed proportion of the finances necessary.
2. Contributing an agreed number of staff.
3. Preparing jointly and in adequate quantities literature suitable for juniors (up to 14), adolescents, adults.
4. Other material, e.g., posters.

## International Voluntary Service for Peace

Three Workcamp Sound Films

"WORKING AGREEMENT"

"TUNISIA"

"WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?"

Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.I. Saturday, March 30, at 6.30 p.m.

Followed by addresses by RODOLFO OLGATI (Switzerland) and HEINRICH CARSTENS (Germany)



# CRIPPS, THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS

***This book is an unhappy blow to Indo-British friendship***  
writes **HORACE ALEXANDER**

The Life of Richard Stafford Cripps, by Colin Cooke. Hodder and Stoughton, 30s. net.

**T**HIS is in some ways an unusual biography. It runs to 406 pages, but the infant R. S. C. does not make his entry until page 50.

When I was halfway through Chapter I, which is a rather portentous essay on "Greatness in Politics," I began to think that I should never reach the end of the book. Nor did the chapter on ancestry reassure me. But once those two hurdles were crossed, I quickly found myself absorbed in a very well-written story.

My personal advice to readers would be: Begin at page 50, and do remember that what you are reading is a series of lectures by an Oxford don on the history of England from 1900 to 1950 very cleverly woven round the life-story of Stafford Cripps.

Cripps was one of those rare men, who occasionally come to the top in British politics, who break through the dead-weight of party politics and strike out along a line of their own. It would not be unfair to say, I think, that if Cripps had been born in the Middle Ages he would have become a churchman and would have influenced history as an Archbishop, probably ending up at the stake.

In the twentieth century he saw that the as a Christian must go into politics. In spite of the Conservatism of his background and upbringing, he soon found that for him Christianity in the twentieth century meant Socialism, and a fairly radical kind of Socialism; but he was never doctrinaire, and he found it easier sometimes to discover common ground with men of other parties than with the Trade Union leaders in his own party.

His Parliamentary career was unusual. Labour had so few able lawyers in its leadership that the first Labour Government had to employ a Conservative as Solicitor-General. When the second Labour Government was formed, Cripps, though not in Parliament, was asked to become Solicitor-General. A seat was found for him, and he began his life in the House of Commons as a Minister of the Crown.

Very soon the economic crisis came, the Government fell apart, and in the new election Cripps was one of the forty Labour members who survived. The ordeal of the next few years had two very important results for him.

First, it gave him the sense that Socialists were in a small minority, fighting the mighty capitalist Government against great odds. Secondly, it threw him into close alliance with George Lansbury, who influenced him profoundly, and made him very nearly a pacifist.

However, as Hitler's war loomed ever nearer, Cripps was one of those who saw it coming and who concluded that nothing but armed resistance could stop the conquering armies of the Fascists. So we are led to a new phase of his life, in which he advocated a united front with Russia to stop Hitler and Mussolini; and at the same time, he began to become a friend of Churchill.

Christian who wants to influence the world



Cripps and Gandhi at New Delhi in 1943

Unfortunately, there is one important aspect of Cripps's career with which Dr. Cooke has not come to grips. He has clearly not understood why Cripps counted the freedom of India as a matter of vital importance, even in the period just after 1945 when there would have been plenty of excuse for saying (as I suspect that nearly all the other leaders of the Labour Government would have liked to say) that, in view of the prodigious nature of Britain's post-war problems, India must wait.

Dr. Cooke, it seems to me, never really un-

derstands far to many other blind men of our country in this age, is eager to denigrate India at all costs. We must be reminded at one moment that there were problems of freedom also for Burma and Ceylon.

So distasteful does he find the personality of Gandhi that he has to link the death of Gandhi with the death of Jinnah and then to make the astonishing suggestion that Cripps was in several respects like Jinnah! Worse still, almost every statement he makes about Gandhi is either misleading or actually false.

Dealing with the Cripps mission of 1942, he digs out again the false story of the long-distance telephone call that Gandhi is supposed to have put through to the Congress leaders in Delhi, just when they were ready to accept the Cripps proposals.

The fact is, as Gandhi's secretary, Mahadev Desai, a man of truth and honour if ever there was one, told me a few weeks later, that after Gandhi left Delhi, neither he nor any of his staff had any communication whatever with Delhi; they did not know at all how the negotiations were going; nor did they know what the outcome was until they read it in the papers.

All the statements about Gandhi's attitude to Britain during those months are based on misapprehension, and are, in fact, false. And when Dr. Cooke comes to the Cabinet Mission of 1946, which really thrashed out a plan for the withdrawal of Britain from India, he is equally far from interpreting Cripps's mind correctly.

It is really deplorable that such a travesty of Cripps's great contribution to the healing of that seemingly unhealable wound should appear at this time. Having watched the whole proceeding from (in a sense) both sides through the years, I can testify that a very great act of statesmanship was achieved through the combined action of Gandhi and Rajagopalachari and a few more on the Indian side, and of Cripps and Pethick-Lawrence and one or two more on the British side.

Dr. Cooke's conclusion about India is pathetically far from the mark. He writes: "In India the long line of English statesmen who have stood for the political growth of India will be remembered. And of this line Sir Stafford Cripps is not the least."

This should read: "In India, already nearly every name in the line of British Viceroy and administrators is forgotten. But the name of Cripps may well be remembered."

## Britain is still great

**T**HERE is only one way of getting out of the present world mess. But that would be only by the grace of God.

Britain is great still and if the Power above guides her, she will one day declare herself neutral in the cold war! Such a declaration will work a real revolution and bring in the dawn of a new day for the world.

Perhaps this is Britain's mission and perhaps this is reserved for the glory of the Labour Party! It may be that this is the Divine purpose in Eden's inexplicable folly and of Macmillan's brief period of authority before a change-over.

The cold war cannot be eliminated by more and more nations being invited to join it. That will only serve to intensify it.

It will fade out only if, one by one, nations get out of it, and declare neutrality. It will then meet its natural death one day.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

## RACE PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRY

**Report from Northern Rhodesia**  
by **BASIL DELAINE**

**M**EMBERS of the Northern Rhodesia Mines' African Staff Association—the more advanced manual and clerical African workers on the fabulous Copperbelt—think it is time the immigration of unskilled Europeans should be discouraged.

In a memorandum they say they feel strongly about "the selfish spirit of superiority among certain sections of Europeans" which should be checked.

"What is lacking in the mining industry," the memorandum goes on, "is personal relationship between Europeans and Africans."

"There are very few Europeans who know and are known personally to the Africans they supervise or work with in the same departments."

"Racial problems in the industry would be considerably changed and improved if European officials and supervisors knew really well as individuals even three or four of the Africans in their charge."

What should be borne in mind, says the memorandum, is that this country has publicly committed itself to a policy of racial partnership.

"Therefore unless this is put into practice everywhere in Northern Rhodesia, with the backing of the Government, it will definitely be regarded as something without meaning and purpose—something not meant to unite races together harmoniously but just to bluff Africans."

"Nobody would like this as it would do



namity in the twentieth century kind of Socialism; but he was never doctrinaire, and he found it easier sometimes to discover common ground with men of other parties than with the Trade Union leaders in his own party.

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First, it gave him the sense that Socialists were in a small minority, fighting the mighty capitalist Government against great odds. Secondly, it threw him into close alliance with George Lansbury, who influenced him profoundly, and made him very nearly a pacifist.

However, as Hitler's war loomed ever nearer, Cripps was one of those who saw it coming and who concluded that nothing but armed resistance could stop the conquering armies of the Fascists. So we are led to a new phase of his life, in which he advocated a united front with Russia to stop Hitler and Mussolini; and at the same time, he began to become a friend of Churchill.

The relationship of these two men, both men who have preferred to follow their own path in politics rather than toeing the party line, both men of great determination and vision, who unlike most politicians do really know where they are going and why, both very able administrators, is well depicted in this volume.



Cripps and Gandhi at New Delhi in 1943

Unfortunately, there is one important aspect of Cripps's career with which Dr. Cooke has not come to grips. He has clearly not understood why Cripps counted the freedom of India as a matter of vital importance, even in the period just after 1945 when there would have been plenty of excuse for saying (as I suspect that nearly all the other leaders of the Labour Government would have liked to say) that, in view of the prodigious nature of Britain's post-war problems, India must wait.

Dr. Cooke, it seems to me, never really appreciates or examines the political philosophy behind Cripps's life-long anti-imperialism. Nor does he realise that for Cripps, India, that great Asian land with an immense ancient heritage and unimaginable potentialities for our time, offered a supreme test for British statesmanship.

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Desai, a man of truth and honour if ever there was one, told me a few weeks later, that after Gandhi left Delhi, neither he nor any of his staff had any communication whatever with Delhi; they did not know at all how the negotiations were going; nor did they know what the outcome was until they read it in the papers.

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It is really deplorable that such a travesty of Cripps's great contribution to the healing of that seemingly unhealable wound should appear at this time. Having watched the whole proceeding from (in a sense) both sides through the years, I can testify that a very great act of statesmanship was achieved through the combined action of Gandhi and Rajagopalachari and a few more on the Indian side, and of Cripps and Pethick-Lawrence and one or two more on the British side.

Dr. Cooke's conclusion about India is pathetically far from the mark. He writes: "In India the long line of English statesmen who have stood for the political growth of India will be remembered. And of this line Sir Stafford Cripps is not the least."

This should read: "In India, already nearly every name in the line of British Viceroy and administrators is forgotten. But the name of Cripps may well be one of the few Englishmen who will be remembered, at any rate when someone writes a true account of what he did and the motives that inspired him."

It is to be hoped that the tender plant of Indo-British friendship, planted by a few brave men in 1947, which is already subject to a good deal of buffeting, will not suffer too much from this unhappy blow from Dr. Cooke.

**BY RABBIT DELAINE**

**MEMBERS** of the Northern Rhodesia Mines' African Staff Association—the more advanced manual and clerical African workers on the fabulous Copperbelt—think it is time the immigration of unskilled Europeans should be discouraged.

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"Therefore unless this is put into practice everywhere in Northern Rhodesia, with the backing of the Government, it will definitely be regarded as something without meaning and purpose—something not meant to unite races together harmoniously but just to bluff Africans."

"Nobody would like this as it would do no good to anyone," the memorandum concludes.

**FOOTNOTE.**—The African copper mines staffmen stressed too that they feel it should be a punishable offence by law to address someone as "Makaka". The meaning of the word—which is a Southern Rhodesian native word—is "Monkey" or "Baboon".

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Broadcasting rights

**T**HE Five-Party Committee (participating bodies being the Fellowship Party, the Independent Labour Party, Common Wealth, Plaid Cymru, and the Scottish National Party) has been actively in existence since 1955. Its purpose is to secure full democratic rights for all democratically constituted minority parties and groups.

We feel that present BBC policy, both in regard to political and other controversial broadcasting, is a direct negation of the Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1949, which recommends that "it is essential that the broadcasting authority, in allotting opportunity for ventilation of controversial views, should not be guided either by simple calculation of the numbers, who already hold such views, or by fear of giving offence to particular groups of listeners. Minorities must have the chance by persuasion of turning themselves into majorities."

At this time, we are collating instances of rejections by the BBC of suggestions and scripts for programmes which could come into

In the 1958 budget (over 80% of which is for war) the cost is \$455 per person. Most of these dollars are obtained through the individual income tax—the "backbone" of the present Federal tax programme.

By paying his taxes on April 15, the individual votes in favour of this trend. By not paying, he casts a powerful vote against this trend.—**ERNEST R. BROMLEY, 10208 Sylvan Avenue (Gano), Cincinnati 41, Ohio.**

### No dogma on war

**W**ITH reference to the Catholic Church and the "problem of conscience", I should like to quote the following words of an esteemed German Dominican, Father Strammann: "Let us state . . . that there is no moral theology on war in the Church in the sense of a doctrine defined like a dogma, or on questions relating to war."

A Catholic priest (not a pacifist) once said to me: "If a conscientious objector goes to war, he will be committing the sin of murder."

—**A. H. WALLACE, 22 North Street, Winchcombe, Glos.**

any additional grants made in the event of the prescribed grant being exhausted. When this happens, employees are dismissed until the new grant is due. The ugly sister, however, is shortly to have a hatted camp, equipped with canteen and cinema, etc. The camp will house 1,000 labourers.

This enterprise will mean prosperity for the three public houses and the three shops, and full employment for the population; Cinderella will take the proverbial back seat.

Gone will be the tranquility of the village; in a short time, too, the appearance of the village will deteriorate.

Is there anything that one who possesses a sense of proportion can do about this?—**H. J. SNEWIN, 2 Stanley Crescent, Gilsland, Carlisle.**

### Proportional representation

**P**ROPORTIONAL Representation, as the name indicates, is a system of election which results in representation of all sections of the community in direct proportion to their numbers. Can any electoral system which

More letters to the Editor appear on page 7

tions, bitterly opposed to each other, but a tolerant and enlightened co-operation between the many groups, large and small, which naturally are found in any free society. The majority view must finally be accepted, but all should have the opportunity to participate—a true democracy must show respect for the opinions and interests of minorities.

I think it is one of the major tragedies of modern times that of all the colonies gaining their independence, not one has turned to a better example of democracy than the British on which to model their own. In my view the Swiss system is the only one in the world today which comes anywhere near fulfilling Lincoln's definition of democracy. I commend it to all pacifists.—**GRACE SANDS, Greenmount, West Australia.**

### Contradictions

**W**E are told (in the same breath)—

1. that Russia has deep designs on the Middle East;
2. that nevertheless, military expenditure is to be reduced;
3. that civil defence must be maintained;
4. that domestic defence is to be maintained.



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### Proportional representation

**PROPORTIONAL** Representation, as the name indicates, is a system of election which results in representation of all sections of the community in direct proportion to their numbers. Can any electoral system which does not achieve that result be considered democratic?

In the British election of 1950 the Liberals polled 2,671,489 votes which should have entitled them to 55 seats, but they obtained only 9; while at the present time both Australia and South Africa are being governed by parties which gained a majority of seats, though they received less than 50 per cent of the votes cast.

Such situations are the very negation of democracy. Is it just that two major parties should so dominate the political arena that minority groups must either forego their right to vote, or choose what in their view is, at best, the lesser of two evils? It seems to me that those are the very alternatives which must face pacifists where the system of voting rules out the possibility of any success for a minority party.

According to your report (March 1), Proportional Representation is being advocated in Mauritius by a reactionary party which apparently sees in it some temporary advantage for itself. But this does not mean that the principle of Proportional Representation is wrong. What is wrong is the cabinet system of government, which can only function if one party gains a majority (by fair means or foul!) and thereafter takes complete control arbitrarily imposing its will on the whole community.

My conception of democracy is not a sharp division of society into two powerful organisa-

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1. that Russia has deep designs on the Middle East;
2. that nevertheless, military expenditure is to be reduced;
3. that civil defence must be maintained;
4. that, despite defences, one million Londoners may be slain by a single bomb.

Do not our statesmen require the attention of a skilled psychiatrist?—**T. SULLIVAN, 31 Knockbreda Park, Belfast.**

### Murdering animals

**WHEN** people stop murdering animals for food, then and not until then, can peace be proclaimed. Murder is as terrible to the animals as it is to us in warfare, and devouring them creates a desire to kill.—**G. SEWELL, 14 Lyon Road, Harrow.**

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service  
3.30 p.m. Sunday, March 24, 1957  
Friends' International Centre  
32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1  
(Nearest Stn-Euston Square)  
Discourse by Robert Steele,  
"Sarvodaya, the Welfare of All"

### PEACE NEWS HOLIDAY BUREAU

will be pleased to help with your holiday enquiries. Selections of brochures from advertisers and suggestions offered without charge. Send a stamped addressed envelope to

3 Blackstock Road, London N.4.

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At this time, we are collating instances of rejections by the BBC of suggestions and scripts for programmes which could come into the category of "controversial broadcasting." If any Peace News readers can help in this respect, I shall be glad to hear from them, giving details of any such rejections of which they have personal knowledge.

Similarly may we, through your columns appeal to all the many organisations reached by Peace News to let us have details of their own experiences in endeavouring to "break the broadcast ban."—**ERIC FENNER, Secretary, Five-Party Committee, 14 Parkgate Rd., London, S.W.11.**

### Taxes for military

**OF** the proposed \$3 billion increase in his 1958 budget plan, President Eisenhower asks \$2 billion for stepping up guided missile production. He asks about one-half of the remaining billion for stepping up atomic power.

The total figure proposed for the 1958 fiscal year is \$72 billion—ten times that of 1938. In those days 14% of the budget was considered to be for military services; today it is 59%. The government has thus progressed so steadfastly toward a war-centredness that the creation of the accompanying, enormous budgetary expenses of war-debt interest, veterans' benefits, special secret agents, etc., raises the whole war cost to a figure exceeding 80% of the total yearly expenditure.

The cost of the Federal Government operation in the 1938 budget was \$55 per person.

In the 1958 budget (over 80% of which is for war) the cost is \$455 per person. Most of these dollars are obtained through the individual income tax—the "backbone" of the present Federal tax programme.

By paying his taxes on April 15, the individual votes in favour of this trend. By not paying, he casts a powerful vote against this trend.—**ERNEST R. BROMLEY, 10208 Sylvan Avenue (Gano), Cincinnati 41, Ohio.**

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A Catholic priest (not a pacifist) once said to me: "If a conscientious objector goes to war, he will be committing the sin of murder."—**A. H. WALLACE, 22 North Street, Winchcombe, Glos.**

### Rocket site

**GILSLAND**, Cumberland, was an attractive village spa, renowned for its health-giving waters and bracing moorland air. It was a favourite place for the industrial community of Tyneside.

The village was well kept. The pond in front of Stanley Crescent boasted of a few swans. What a different picture it is today.

The ornamental lake has deteriorated into a stagnant swamp. The station appears to be somewhat dilapidated and its woodwork rotting, through lack of a coat of paint. The lighting does not appear to have changed in the course of 50 years. Two world wars, with the interval of the depression between them, seems to have been instrumental in this state of affairs.

The main source of employment, in recent years has been the Forestry Commission, which I term our "Cinderella". What of the future of this obscure community?

There will be a great welcome among the locals for Cinderella's affluent and ugly sister in the form of a rocket projectile site. Already 50,000 Christmas trees have been sacrificed to prepare the way for the ugly sister.

The Forestry Commission allocates a meagre sum every year to each of its undertakings. It is a more or less fixed sum. There are not



## Nehru and Kashmir

I DID not see Mr. Rajagopalachari's letter about Kashmir. But as I read my friend Reginald Reynolds' reply to it I found myself murmuring "O ye of little faith." From the very beginning of this Kashmir business I could not bring myself to believe that Nehru was, as the Western world's press (and now Reginald Reynolds) were saying, throwing away his and his government's good name for the sake of acquiring territory. I simply could not believe it of Nehru, however damning the case against him, as presented by his critics of all schools, appeared to be. Then I read a speech of his made during the election campaign, and reported in India News two or three weeks ago. Reading between the lines of that speech it seemed clear that what Nehru feared about a plebiscite in Kashmir was that the Pakistani leaders would seize the occasion to let loose a flood of sectarian propaganda, with the almost inevitable result of another blood-bath, and a further outburst of hatred between Moslems and Hindus. He could hardly say this in so many words, for the Pakistanis would naturally have at once assumed an air of injured innocence. But it was plain that he felt some such horror was more than probable. And to avert it—to save human lives and to safeguard human brotherhood—he was prepared to risk his own reputation for moral dealing, and to incur the reproach of disloyalty to the United Nations.

I now find myself supported in this reading of the situation by no less a person than James Cameron, writing in the News Chronicle of March 15. And believing this view to be the right one, I am prepared to say that, so far from his action being a blot on Nehru's reputation, it is perhaps as fine and truly disinterested a thing as he has ever done.—FRANK HORRABIN, 16 Enderleigh Gardens, N.W.4.

## "Negligible" hazards

YOUR leading article reads like a piece of special pleading unfair to many pacifists who, while utterly opposed to the tests of nuclear weapons, believe that their job is to press for unilateral disarmament on the solid ground of the immorality of war rather than to seek the abolition of tests on the admittedly doubtful ground of their genetic effects. If that is to be the basis of action, then there would be even greater reason for Peace News to protest at the daily medical and industrial use of radiation, the relative effects of which as compared with the military use is something like 75 to 25 according to the reply of a scientist at a recent conference.

Doctors, like the Prime Minister, weigh the risks against the good result which they expect. If pacifists believe that the Government is wrong in their judgment that because the H-bomb is the greatest deterrent, test risks are legitimate in order to avoid the destruction of the human race, the point of challenge is in their argument.

## LETTERS

Continued from page six

writer who is short-sighted and not Sybil Morrison whose vision is blurred.—STUART MORRIS, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## Nuclear weapons

THE NEWS that the British Government is negotiating for the purchase of US nuclear air weapons is very disquieting indeed. Of what possible use can such weapons be in the future defence of Britain? It is impossible to believe that in a nuclear world war Britain would survive. Two hydrogen bombs dropped on this island would make it uninhabitable for something like a century. Two bombs dropped on America or Russia or China would leave unharmed the larger parts of these respective countries, but Britain is merely a speck on the surface of the globe.

The way of safety and commonsense is to refuse to buy these nuclear weapons, bombs and the like, to refuse to store them or to make them or to have anything to do with them. Such disarmament is now the safest course for this country. I hope the matter will be made the subject of a national campaign through the agency of Peace News.—RICHARD HAWKIN, York.

## The death penalty

WERE the subject not so terribly grave it would be amusing to note the contradictory attitude taken by the supporters of the death penalty to the individual and collective murderer.

Napoleon Bonaparte is accounted to have known a deal about the art of soldiering in his day and generation, and he defined a soldier as being "a hired and legalised murderer".

Devilish, however, as is the work of the warrior himself on the battlefield, upon the sea and from the air, as many of us know at first hand, the ultimate deepest depths of diabolical wickedness lie behind the scenes. In proof thereof I would call attention to the activities of the vested interests in the manufacture of and trade in arms.

The late Sir Basil Zaharoff typified these interests. He admitted:

*"I made my first hundreds gun running for savages, I made wars so that I could sell arms to both sides. I must have sold more arms than anyone else in the world."*

In 1927 this millionaire vulture was presented with a cup by the chairman and directors of the British armament firm of Vickers Ltd. (now amalgamated with Armstrongs). This cup was inscribed as "a mark of their great appreciation of the valuable work he has done for them and of their sincere gratitude and high esteem," on the completion of 50 years' connection with the firm.

This arch-murderer was not invested with the hangman's rope, far from it.

He was made a Knight Grand Cross of the glorious British Empire and given two other

framed a more crowning act of blasphemy against the Christ than this last title bestowed by a so-called Christian land, I have yet to hear of it.

I commend these facts to Lord Chief Justice Goddard. He leads against the abolition of capital punishment, but I have yet to see his name in any recognition of the essentially murderous nature of war.

But perhaps it's too much to expect him to do any thinking on these lines. It may cost him too much.

I speak from experience. I served as a police constable in the same county in which Lord Goddard served as a Recorder. My job was to deal with crime—but only the small variety—I found I had to arrest deserters from the armed forces, affix recruiting posters for the "Services" and locate horses suitable for war.

In other words I had to aid and abet in murder; and the voice of conscience called me to resign in 1927.—JOSEPH G. H. JACKSON, Bournemouth.

## Soviet relations

IT is most unfortunate that typical reactions to the Soviet action in Hungary have been the closing down of the Soviet Relations Committee of the British Council, the cancellation of the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow and of visits by cultural and Trade Union delegations to the Soviet Union.

It is becoming the fashion to withdraw ambassadors and contacts when relationships get really bad. Surely this is a time when every means of communication should be kept open so that there can be an interchange of views, and so that understanding and good relations can be restored.—MERVYN TAGGART, Tadworth, Surrey.

## The Hanging Archbishop

WITH reference to "The Hanging Archbishop" (Peace News, March 1), is the argument sound?

Surely it is his right to state the doctrine of the Christian Church and everybody's right to state the law of God and see they are in agreement?

As I see it, the law of God is that of sowing and reaping so that if one sows seeds of death by violence it is just to reap same.

The Church holds that the whole duty of man (State) is to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God. Are they in agreement?

A fair trial, with ample opportunity to excuse such an atrocious act, is fulfilling that duty until such time as the major issue of war and violence is settled. By that time prospective murderers will have learned to respect the right of others to life.—A. E. D., Baildon, Yorks.

Stuart Morris writes: *It is sometimes forgotten that the first murderer described in the Bible was not punished by death but was*

March 22, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

## Parties to defence

I SHOULD like to point out to Terence Chivers the following:

(a) While appreciating what he writes regarding the Legislature, the point hardly arises in relation to the Fellowship Party. There is no possibility in the foreseeable future, without the change of heart to which he refers, of the Fellowship Party getting into power. The most one can hope for is for an increase in the number of pacifists inside Parliament and surely that in itself is a worth while goal. The platforms available for pacifists are indeed limited and if the world is to be saved from destruction then every means to get the pacifist message across to the people should be used. (b) That the Fellowship Party fully appreciates that the moral approach to these questions is shown by their Objects and Principles, the second of which reads as follows:

"To place loyalty to Christian and moral standards above sectional and personal interests and to endeavour to spread those standards throughout the community."

(c) The danger of corruption to which Mr. Chivers refers is, of course, a real one but it is more unlikely with a Party such as the Fellowship Party which owes no allegiance to any sectional interest of the community.

I would, therefore, commend to Mr. Chivers and other pacifists the very excellent work which the Fellowship Party is doing in the cause of pacifism and ask for his support—S. W. BISHOP, 11 Bazile Rd., Grange Park, N.21.

TERENCE CHIVERS gives the impression that disarmament is dependent on pacifism, yet he acknowledges that a pacifist government is a contradiction in terms. Clearly, if disarmament is to be achieved in the foreseeable future it must be within the framework of the existing social system, not of a pacifist Utopia.

Let us not forget that pacifism is the most urgent need in the world today. While we must endeavour to change the social atmosphere, the immediate political objective is disarmament.—MALCOLM ELLIOTT, FAUIS, Wokingham Hospital, Wokingham, Berks.

## THE BARRIER OF COLOUR

in S. Rhodesia

a talk by

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Chairman: SYBIL MORRISON

at Dick Sheppard House,

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dealing, and to incur the reproach of disloyalty to the United Nations.

I now find myself supported in this reading of the situation by no less a person than James Cameron, writing in the News Chronicle of March 15. And believing this view to be the right one, I am prepared to say that, so far from his action being a blot on Nehru's reputation, it is perhaps as fine and truly disinterested a thing as he has ever done.—**FRANK HORRABIN, 16 Endersleigh Gardens, N.W.4.**

### "Negligible" hazards

**Y**OUR leading article reads like a piece of special pleading unfair to many pacifists who, while utterly opposed to the tests of nuclear weapons, believe that their job is to press for unilateral disarmament on the solid ground of the immorality of war rather than to seek the abolition of tests on the admittedly doubtful ground of their genetic effects. If that is to be the basis of action, then there would be even greater reason for Peace News to protest at the daily medical and industrial use of radiation, the relative effects of which as compared with the military use is something like 75 to 25 according to the reply of a scientist at a recent conference.

Doctors, like the Prime Minister, weigh the risks against the good result which they expect. If pacifists believe that the Government is wrong in their judgment that because the H-bomb is the greatest deterrent, test risks are legitimate in order to avoid the destruction of the human race, the point of challenge is in their assumption and not in their deduction.

To limit an objective to one which commands more popular support is a temptation to which pacifists are not immune, but when we are fully occupied with the task of abolishing war we will be less interested in abolishing tests. Let those who are not pacifists go as far as they can, although even if successful they will not save the future from the threat of destruction. Perhaps it is your leader

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He was made a Knight Grand Cross of the glorious British Empire and given two other "honours" including the Bath (he certainly needed one).

The armament controlled government of France gave him a Commandership of the Legion of Honour, while his native Greece—very interestingly—gave this human beast of prey the "Grand Cross of the Order of the Saviour".

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**NORTH WALES.** Vegetarian guest house, nr. mountains and sea. Lovely woodland garden. Brochure from Jeannie and George Lake, Plas-y-Coed, Penmaen Park, Llanfairfechan. Tel. 161.

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**LONDON, W.C.2:** 7.30 p.m.; Kingsway Hall. Procession of pacifist witness through West End. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

## Monday, March 25

**ILFORD:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Corner Albert Rd. and Cleveland Rd. Film "Children of Hiroshima." For.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP 72 Oakley St., N.W.1.

### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

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**SHEFFIELD:** 7.30 p.m.; YMCA, Fargate, Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Co-ordinating Cttee, Sheffield Peace Societies.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7 p.m.; House of Commons (room booked in the name of Mr. Geo. Craddock, MP). AGM of the No Conscription Council. Associate members and affiliated members welcome. No Conscription Council.

## Thursday, March 28

**DAGENHAM:** 8 p.m.; Kingsley Hall, Parloes Ave., Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

**HAMPSTEAD:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath Street (upstairs in library) Marjorie Mitchell of the Maria Grey Training College, "How We Personally Can Influence the World Towards Peace." Peace Pledge Union.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Gp. Discussion. PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 6.45 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Peace Forum." Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison and others will discuss your questions. Joint Pacifist Committee.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. Muhammed Yahya Butt of the Woking Muslim Mission, "A Muslim's View of Peace." Pacifist Youth Action Group.

## Friday, March 29

**BELLINGHAM:** 8 p.m.; 97 King Alfred Ave. "Pacifism and the National Health Service." Ronald Mallone, BA. Fellowship Party.

**PORTSMOUTH:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Public Meeting, 25 Northwood Rd. Henry Crookenden: "The Capricorn Africa Society." For.

**SWANSEA:** 7 p.m.; Llewelyn Hall (YMCA). "Can Britain Lead?" Dr. Soper. Admission free. Collection. Swansea Peace Council.

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**PEACE NEWS OFFICE** IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

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**WIDOW** 48, Pacifist, with 5 yr.-old adopted son, wishes change employment. Experienced Methodist Guest House; Private Hotel; Asst. Matron Girls' Boarding School; YWCA Canteen; Catering visitors' own home; Housemother, now Cook in Children's Home. Good Needlewoman. Present conditions unsuitable for young child. Any suggestions? Box 725.

## HOLIDAYS

**BARMOUTH, MERIONETH, WALES.** Marine Mansion Private Hotel, at sea's edge. A.A. and R.A.C. Miles of sands, lovely inland walks. Terms 9 to 12 guineas. Brochure from P. N. Jackson.

**BIDEFORD, NORTH DEVON.** Bed and breakfast, 15 mins. from sea and bus stop. Mrs. Harris, Coombe Walter, Abbotsham.

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**DERBYSHIRE HILLS:** "The Briars" for happy country holidays in friendly atmosphere. Brochure from Mr. and Mrs. Heymans, Crich, n/r Matlock.

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**NORFOLK COAST.** Quiet village, Broad's district; excellent beach. Vegetarian and conventional catering. H. & C. all bedrooms. Woodbine Guest House, Sea Palling. Tel. Hickling 236.

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**POLAND, PORTUGAL, TURKEY.** Send stamp (2d.) H.F.S., 48 Dalston Lane, London, E.8.

**SWANAGE.** Vegetarian Guest House, overlooking sea. Children welcomed. Own garden and farm produce; home-made bread, cakes, etc. Waveney Park Rd., Phone 2804.

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# JAPANESE SCIENTISTS' APPEAL

giving facts about radiation dangers.

In London this week Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale sent Peace News the following letter which she had received from Tokio, signed by more than 400 Japanese physicists.

The letter reads: "On February 9, 1956, the Japanese Diet made a resolution that we want the United Nations and the great countries which have nuclear weapons to cease nuclear weapons testing. The resolution has been unanimously approved by both Houses of the Diet: and it seemed evident to us that this resolution would be supported by all nations. Unfortunately the great countries are still continuing nuclear weapons testing. Meanwhile your government has announced a series of H-bomb tests which are scheduled for a long period, from March 1 to the end of August, over a vast area near Christmas Island in the Pacific Ocean.

## Misleading arguments

"The Japanese Government sent their first letter to Prime Minister Macmillan on January 30 protesting against this announcement and requesting that the British Government stop the test, expecting the kind acceptance of the request. However, to our great regret, the above appeal was rejected by your Government in the note handed to the Japanese Ambassador in London on February 13. Although a second letter has been sent urging the British Government's reconsideration, we cannot expect a favourable answer unless we ask your hearty assistance.

"Your Government replied in part: first, 'there is no question of Japan being in the slightest danger; and, second, 'nuclear weapons are the most powerful existing deterrent to a major war.' And the reply stressed that nuclear weapons 'play a vital role in the defence of the whole free world against possible aggression,' and added that 'tests for this summer are designed solely to strengthen that deterrent.'

"Although we are convinced that you understand how misleading these two arguments are, we would like to say a few words. As for the first point, even if 'all safety precautions would be taken in light of the British Government's knowledge, and of experience gained from tests of other countries,' it is quite evident

that navigation routes and fishing-grounds on the high seas in the Pacific Ocean must be closed for as long a period as half a year. Furthermore it is needless to say that the test could be safely performed even in England if the British firm conviction were true.

"With respect to the second argument, that the development and production of nuclear weapons are indispensable to strengthen national defence in the absence of a disarmament, we need only to point out that such an endless competition will result in nothing but increasing international tension up to the critical point of explosion, i.e., a world catastrophe.

"On the other hand, as the Japan Atomic Energy Commission revealed on February 20, the effects of the past nuclear explosions have already become appreciable, and especially the remarkable accumulation of strontium 90 in vegetables, milk, and human bones has been definitely detected by the Japanese scientists. The details of the report will be read by the Japanese delegate at the Third United Nations' Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to be held on April 8 at Geneva. Therefore, we consider it our most important duty to warn all Governments that a continuation of the nuclear weapons testing is nothing but the worst sort of crime against all human beings.

## Unreasonable situation

"Finally we would like to remind you that such a testing to develop nuclear weapons hinders very much the peaceful utilization of nuclear power. As you may know, the Science Council of Japan issued a statement regarding Research in Atomic Energy in Japan on April 23, 1954. In the statement we emphasized that the following three principles are indispensable for the sound development of nuclear power: (1) Non-secrecy; (2) Democratic management; and (3) Freedom in research.

"Recently we have been very surprised to hear that Japan cannot purchase even natural uranium from great countries having ample supplies of it unless she makes some bilateral agreement with these countries which may jeopardise the three principles mentioned above. Do you not think such an unreasonable situation for peaceful uses of nuclear energy has been caused by and accelerated by a foolhardy weapons race?

"To you, our respected colleague, we, the undersigned, sincerely appeal and request that you try to persuade your Government to stop the tests at Christmas Island."



JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

by  
FRANK LEA

today is less superficial than it was twenty years ago, this is largely, even mainly, due to him.

# Settlement by war

*Their (the Federation of Shipbuilding and Engineers Union) attitude is that their case for higher pay has strong merits . . . The employers retort that . . . the industries, despite their long order books, cannot stand this . . . Both arguments, so far as they go, are correct, and both are wrong . . . because they assume positions of principle on the wrong principle. The right principle is to be found in the fact that whatever is not settled by peace must be settled by war, and that industrial war will be disastrous alike for both sides of the industry and for the nation.*

—Sunday Times, March 17, 1957.

THOUGH the Sunday Times leader, from which I have extracted the above passage, refers to the threatened strike in the shipyards of this country, it could just as well refer to the attitude of governments today in the wider strife of the "cold war."

The statement that the right principle rests on the foundation of a creed that declares for settlement by war in the last resort is precisely the principle on which governments and their spokesmen base their approach to the even more disastrous effects of a clash between the major powers.

The only reason for building up arsenals of nuclear weapons, for the H-bomb tests, for the guided missile training ranges, for the research into bacteriological warfare, is this belief that what cannot be settled by peaceful means can, and indeed must, be settled by war.

It is the centuries that lie behind, in which reliance upon this principle has never been questioned, that makes any change of outlook so exceedingly difficult.

★

It has to be recognised that, on the whole, statesmen are supported by the majority of their countrymen in believing that possession of the H-bomb and its satellite missiles will deter those nations whom they believe to have aggressive designs.

They weigh up the dangers of radio-active fall-out from H-bomb tests against the dangers of total nuclear war, which they believe might occur if it were not clearly evident that the H-bomb was part of their nation's armoury, and decide for what they no doubt sincerely consider to be the far lesser risk.

That there should be no choice but one of two evils is accepted without, apparently, any stirring of doubt or uneasiness of conscience, despite the fact that this is to deny the existence of good, and to millions, the existence of God.

Nevertheless, it remains a terrifying fact that sincere Christian people, people whose goodness and humanity cannot be impugned, hold to this belief that under certain conditions it

would be justifiable to use these monstrous weapons of destruction.

War is not, according to the State or to the Church, in itself an immoral undertaking; both the State and the Church are prepared to justify the use of war as a final resort.

Naturally, therefore, within that context it is easy to justify preparations for such a war, and indeed to condone the risks that may accompany those preparations.

The fundamental immorality of this position plainly is not recognised, and, therefore, it is upon pacifists and pacifists alone, through their organisations, their journals and themselves, that the tremendous responsibility lies of facing their fellow men with the deep moral issues that are involved.

★

It is for this reason that it is of immense importance to see clearly, to know, and to accept, the implications and the consequences of the gospel of war renunciation.

To declare against war is to declare against all its weapons; it is to adjure the insanity of its policies as well as the crime committed against humanity, and against the inherent good in man.

The terrifying consequences of modern war are abhorrent even to those who believe in its possible necessity; it is only when it is realised that the peril is not only to the body but to the soul of man that they will join with pacifists in saying "No" to war.

Perhaps that time is at last drawing near.

## "NATIVE" TO GO

THE recent announcement that the Government of Southern Rhodesia has decided to drop the word "native" and substitute "African" in all the colony's laws is a small but significant contribution to better race relations.

The change will make even more absurd laws and regulations referring to "foreign natives" or "non-indigenous natives" (that is Africans coming from outside Southern Rhodesia).

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From BASIL DELAINE

## WHAT ABOUT PRINCIPLE?

The following leading article appeared in *Railway Review*, journal of the British National Union of Railwaymen, on March 15, 1957:

SOME white trade unionists in Africa are no less reactionary than other whites who do not have the honour to belong to a world-wide trade union movement whose main object is the brotherhood of all men.



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This article propounds a philosophy very little different from the fascist nationalists in South Africa. It says that the proposed new franchise laws acknowledge the right of any adult, regardless of colour or creed, to enjoy full franchise and citizenship rights. But, adds this leader, and with emphasis, *and when he or she has earned them.*

### The implication

This crass and arrogant doctrine is completely alien to every principle of trade unionism and democracy. It implies different rights—let there be no mistake—entirely based upon colour because secondary citizenship is not meant to cover the whites *who have not earned them.*

The whole implication is that the whites are superior and should remain master not only of their own lives but of the lives of the Africans.

The leader says it does not advocate full apartheid because that would mean dividing the Federation in two. As it is, the black or brown man, *if he qualifies*, (their emphasis) must enjoy similar privileges. He must have equal facilities.

Nevertheless, this trade union journal actually advocates separate *habitation areas* and alleges simply that it does not see this as apartheid but "as a logical and sane approach to a social problem that only those people who live in a multi-racial State can ever understand."

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## JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

by  
**FRANK LEA**

Editor of Peace News  
1945-1949

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was my friend for over twenty years. I learned more from him, and more worth learning, than from any man known to me personally.

When we first met, in 1937, he was newly converted to pacifism, and it was in his pacifist days that I knew him best. Latterly, we saw less of each other, and our lines of thought diverged; but nothing could diminish the affection or respect he inspired, and nothing can ever fill the gap left by his death.

During the war, as editor of Peace News and member of many committees, Murry exerted a dominant influence within the pacifist movement. He was not, perhaps, an ideal editor: as Bernard Shaw told him, he wrote too well. Nor was he an ideal committee-man: he was slow to see others' points of view, and disinclined to suffer fools gladly.

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Murry was many-sided even as a writer. Partly, no doubt, because of his preoccupation with the literary giants, he has rarely been treated as a figure in his own right. There must be thousands who have heard of him as the husband of Katherine Mansfield, the friend of D. H. Lawrence or the biographer of Keats and Swift, for every one who has tried to appraise his works as a whole. Yet a whole they do constitute, for all their apparent contradictions, and one which will continue to impress those for whom a great writer means more than a great manipulator of words.

Indeed, people who saw him only in one of his capacities—as pacifist or socialist, critic or friend—overlooked what was quintessential. Before all else, Murry was a man who grew, and continued to grow, long after the age at which most men have set in a mould. Combining, to a rare degree, the fundamental detachment of the mystic with a sensitive and passionate concern for human values, he was for ever enlarging his vision.

That concern was what led him to identify himself with one standpoint after another; that detachment what enabled him (not lightly, but nonetheless willingly) to admit the inevitable partiality of each, and take the consequences. Among these was failure, in the short run, to acquire the authority he deserved: but his stature will only increase, as the passions he excited subside.

## War-time censor who became Peace News editor

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He said the time had come for the Africans in Nyasaland "to take over the reins of Government." The Europeans would be allowed to stay in the country, but he would not allow them to rule the country in any circumstances. He urged them to assist the Africans in achieving their ambitions.

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It completely disagrees with the British Labour Party and sides more with the views expressed by Tory Colonial Minister, Lennox-Boyd. Indeed, it says that they are *gravely conscious* that Labour could come to power.

"The question of the abolition of all racial barriers as advocated by British Labour politicians is one that, in our opinion, time and the peoples of the countries concerned alone are qualified to settle." But that is exactly what they have shown themselves incapable of settling, as is evident from the intensity of the feelings in the whole African continent against the white settlers.

A former Secretary of the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union, Sir Roy Welensky, is Prime Minister. From what he has said in the past it could be that he wrote this remarkable leader himself. If he did it is not to his credit as an ex-trade unionist.

Whoever wrote it should be repudiated by the world trade union movement. If the leader represents the views of railway trade unionists in the Central African Federation, somebody ought to remind them of the reasons why they are trade unionists. The reasons do not include racial discrimination.

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by HARRY MISTER, Manager Peace News

"THE best speech I ever heard," Dick Sheppard told his friend R. Ellis Roberts after hearing John Middleton Murry (who had recently joined up with the Peace Pledge Union) address its memorable 1937 Summer School at Swanwick.

And many would say that of J. M. M. I remember him, during the "phoney war" period, addressing a packed London peace rally; his profound understanding and that hesitant, moving eloquence of his making H. G. Wells' and Senor Madariaga's contributions seem almost trivial.

### INSPIRATION

I remember, too, the insight and inspiration of each succeeding week's "Commentary" in those flimsy four page war-time Peace News and the sense of purpose and the confidence which we on the staff felt after he took over in 1940. June 1940 it was—when the Panzers and Stukas were ravaging Western Europe, and Britain talked of invasion—and pikes.

It took courage and profound conviction to put aside a great literary reputation to serve the pacifist movement then. It cost him a loss of status in the literary world which he had only recently begun to regain.

In the years that followed J. M. M. led a great team of war-time contributors, of whom the best known were perhaps Dr. Alex Wood,

Vera Brittain, Laurence Housman and Wilfred Wellock, all active members of the Board of Directors. We felt that it was Murry's consummate skill in composing the paper which kept it free from restriction and suppression, as well as the fact that he had been a chief censor at the end of World War I!

His other services to pacifism were innumerable: powerfully argued books, essays and pamphlets and profound radio talks. He was a leading figure on the Peace Pledge Union's National Council (he was a Sponsor of the movement) and Executive Committees and, until he left the Church, on the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. Joint founder with the Rev. Henry Carter of the Holton Beckering Farm Training Scheme for COs; his Adelphi Centre in Essex was first the scene of the Forethought Committee researches into pacifism and later a farming centre for COs. (Do I not remember the Dostoevsky read aloud over breakfasts of lumpy porridge!)

He helped in the formation of pacifist communities all over the country, did much to encourage the movement's young writers and was constantly speaking and lecturing.

And then, after the war, he left us.

He had tended to discount Nazi atrocities as largely inventions of war propaganda and the disclosure of their full horror deeply shocked him. Totalitarianism could affront the human

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spirit more deeply than war, and in rejecting the former he renounced his pacifism too, retiring to his farm in Norfolk and writing critically of pacifists in "The Free Society," "Community Farm" and other works.

Perhaps the cleavage came because the pacifist movement failed to implement Murry's call for "microcosms of the new society functioning within the old," because it preferred pacifism in politics to his "politics of pacifism." We might profitably examine his conceptions again.

Certainly his search was for something beyond movements, for the truth about man's relationship with God, and the growth of God's society upon earth. For the vision he gave us I, and countless other pacifists of my generation, will always be grateful.

### GHANA SOCIAL AND RECEPTION

to meet Emile Burns on his return from Ghana. African songs and dances. Saturday, March 23, 7.30-11. Princess Louise Restaurant (2 mins. Holborn Tube). Adm. 2s. LDC, Communist Party.